THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

" Nothing Wanting But A Beginning ": An Examination of the Character and Development of the Settlement Founded by Members of Butler's Rangers in the Niagara Area, 1780-1800

BY

Kelly Jane Buziak

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS .

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL,1987

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ISBN 0-315-41125-2

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TITLE OF THESIS: " Nothing Wanting But A Beginning ": An Examination of the Character and Development of the Settlement Founded by the Members of Butler's Rangers in the Niagara Area, 1780-1800.

DEGREE: Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1987

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled

" Nothing Wanting But A Beginning ": An Examination of the Character and Development of the Settlement Founded by Members of Butler's Rangers in the Niagara Area, 1780-1800

submitted by Kelly Jane Buziak

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Abstract

An examination of the settlement founded by members of the Provincial Corps known as Butler's Rangers in the Niagara area between 1780 and 1800 shows that the early character of this settlement was influenced by several forces. The first of these were the American origins of its settlers. Although such origins seem to be more in the realm of American rather than Canadian history, the weight of the precedents found in the society and settlement of New York and Pennsylvania were an intricate part of the " baggage " which the loyalists carried with them to their new homes in Canada. Yet, even though the men of Butler's Rangers shared certain similarities in experience and origin with other groups of loyalists, the settlement which was established in the Niagara area displayed certain variances from other loyalist settlements. That is not to say that the Niagara settlement was completely unique. It is obvious that the people of the Niagara area shared general concerns, such as thatof securing freehold tenure, with their fellow loyalists in places such as Cataraqui. However, it is also obvious that certain local factors affected the expression of concern as well as the methods of dealing with it. A second factor which influenced the development of the character of settlement in the Niagara area was the expression of authority. From the initiation of settlement in 1780, the Niagara area was subject to competing levels of authority. In the earliest period authority was represented by the governor, local garrison, as well as the person of John Butler. However, this triumvirate of authority did not represent a single view of how the settlement was to develop. This added to the variance between the Niagara settlement and the intentions of policy instituted by the British administration in Canada, and thus between Niagara and other loyalist settlements. A final factor was the differences in interests and opinions

which existed between the people in the Niagara area, and those of external forces (such as the government policy). Factors such as geographical distance, the somewhat fragmented nature of authority, and the weight of concerns for survival and prosperity contributed to the local influences which helped create some of the variations which existed in the character of settlement in the area.

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Chapter One

Butler's Rangers, as a loyalist corps, hold one of the most infamous places in the history of the American Revolution. To writers of New York colonial history, especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries, their reputation is anathema.[1] There is no denying that the activities undertaken by this group of men and their leader, Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, in conjunction with members of the the Indian Department and the various tribes loyal to the crown, were violent and vicious. However these men were but part of a frontier campaign which was itself filled with brutality. For these men, the campaigns in which they engaged were part of a conflict which, because it involved neighbor against neighbor, as well as dividing families, was closer to a civil war than to any heroic battle of ideologies. As is characteristic in most civil wars, these same men became villains to one side and heroes to another. For generations of Canadians these men along with other loyalists were regarded not only as heroes but also as victims of unjust persecution.[2] Thus, Butler's Rangers are part of the controversy of *legitimate* heroes and villains which has affected the depiction of almost every participant in the American Revolution. Unfortunately, traditional moralistic judgements contribute little to the discovery of what these men of Butler's Rangers were truly like. The first point which must be made is that any description based in war will be distorted by the excessive emotions surrounding the conflict. However an examination of only the post-war settlement formed by the members of Butler's Rangers in the Niagara area (as it is used in this thesis refers primarily to the general area which was covered by the first five townships) would ignore the importance of the American colonial origins of these individuals. Although such an examination may seem beyond the concern of Canadian historical studies its inclusion here helps to emphasize the social, political, and

economic roots of this loyalist society. The men of Butler's Rangers may have been loyal to the King, but they were not Englishmen. The origins of the majority of these men and their families were in colonial New York and Pennsylvania. An examination of these societies is not only important to understanding the general societal precedents which came with the loyalists to the Niagara area. Such an examination also recognizes the potential for influence which existed in certain individuals. On this level the individual who had one of the longest personal associations with the members of Butler's Rangers was, not surprisingly, John Butler. Special attention should be drawn to the position and place of John Butler and his family in colonial New York, as it provides specific comparisons for his later actions in post-war Canada.

There are several initial points which must be made concerning the pre-war background of John Butler. John Butler's rise to importance in Tryon County was a result of several intertwining factors. The first of these was that the rise of the Butler family did not begin with John himself, but with his father. The origin of the Butler family in North America began with the arrival of Lieutenant Walter Butler around the year 1711.[3] Very little is actually known about the background of Walter Butler other than the fact that he was somehow connected, either through blood or patronage, to the Irish noble family of Ormonde.[4] This link seems to have been readily accepted by later members of the Butler family for it remained a source of much pride. This grand ancestry aside, there is however, some suggestion that Walter Butler did possess some sort of connection to more practical sources of influence. There is a record dated June 2, 1726 of Governor Burnet of New York writing to the Duke of Newcastle seeking an appointment for a Lieutenant Walter Butler. The

request was significant enough to get Walter Butler appointed to a company of fusileers by August 16 of that same year.[5] The fact that the Dukes of Ormonde were patrons of the Burnet family gives some suggestion as to why Governor Burnet would have concerned himself with the fate of this particular lieutenant.[6] This factor also seems to give additional credit to the ancestral claims of the Butler family. The appearance of Walter Butler in the correspondence of the Governor of New York was not an isolated incident. In 1728 requests for a position on the behalf of Walter Butler are found in the correspondence between Governor Montgomerie of New York and the Duke of Newcastle.[7] Although these incidences may seem minor (having little to do directly with John Butler himself) they do indicate that the Butler family may not have been as humble as some contemporaries would later infer.[8] It appears that Walter Butler was able to maintain some form of connection to political influence even into the decade of the 1730's.

The 1730's were an important decade for the Butler family for a number of reasons. Although the period of the 1730's is rather fuzzy in terms of Walter Butler's career, it is known that at some point in the early 1730's he was appointed to the garrison at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley. The move to the Mohawk Valley was significant in that from this point on, the fortunes of Walter Butler were marked by a slow shift from a reliance on the ambiguous political patronage which marked his early career in America, to the cultivation of local influence in the Mohawk Valley. It was this increase in local influence which eventually brought the Butler family into close association with William Johnson. Of course this did not occur immediately. William Johnson did not arrive in the Mohawk

Valley until 1738, and he did not attain a position of significant influence for several years. However, Walter Butler had begun to take advantage from his own situation long before the arrival of Johnson. In view of the nature of wealth and position in the eighteenth century, it is not surprising to find that by the early 1730's, Walter Butler had taken an interest in land grants. It is known that some time after his arrival Walter Butler apparently began to take a considerable interest in the acquisition of land in the area around Fort Hunter. By 1733 he and forty two other individuals had taken up a crown grant near Schoharie Creek.[9] Briefly stated, land acquisition, especially in the large tracts which were customary in New York, required two things. First was the need to acquire the approval for any land transaction from the governor.[10] Secondly, monetary resources substantial enough to cover the administrative costs were also necessary. That Walter Butler and his associates were able to secure the grant proved that they could comply with the requirements, although the exact contribution which would have been made by Walter Butler can only be guessed at. An interesting aspect of this particular grant was that part of it was taken up by Sir Peter Warren who would later send his nephew William Johnson to oversee this estate. Again, in this land deal, as in the case of the govenor's correspondence, it appears that Walter Butler was party to some exercise of influence, but again the details are frustratingly vague. Nevertheless it was out of his share of this grant (some 1,714 6/7 acres) that Walter Butler secured the cornerstone for his family's later position.[11] It was on this land that the family home, known as Butlersbury, was built in 1742.[12] At this point it appears that the Butler family fortunes became firmly rooted in the Mohawk Valley, and inevitably, in the actions of William Johnson.

The connection which developed between the Butler family and Sir William Johnson provides another of the intertwining factors which affected the pre-war background of John Butler. Despite the fact that he arrived in 1738, Johnson was able to move beyond his position as manager on his uncle's estate to become an influential figure in the Indian trade in the colony.[13] From this position he moved to acquire lands and power for himself. By 1744, after only seven years in the Mohawk Valley, he had risen to a place as one of the six commissioners in the British Indian Department. It was in that same year that John Butler marked the beginning of his acquaintance with Sir William Johnson.[14] Although John Butler marked the beginning of his acquaintance with Johnson in 1744, it appears that the introduction was fostered through the previous relationship between Johnson and Walter Butler.[15] E.A. Cruikshank chose to describe the relationship simply as " useful ". However, it is not difficult to suppose the sort of arrangements which could be made between the senior officer of the local garrison and an ambitious local Indian trader (later commissioner of the Indian Department). Whatever the specific nature of their dealings the arrangement appeared to have been mutually satisfactory. The greatest proof of this comes from the fact that the professional relationship between these two men spread to include Walter Butler's three sons Thomas, Walter, and John. In a time when success frequently came by nepotism and patronage, the use which Johnson made of the sons of Walter Butler was a very strong indication of the level of their personal and professional associations.

There is little doubt that the sons of Lieutenant Walter Butler were the direct beneficiaries of their father's relationship with William Johnson. It might have been expected that Walter senior may have also benefited

by means of land accumulation, since that activity was especially popular amongst members of the Indian Department. Yet, from the mid 1740's onward it appears that Walter Butler senior did not engage in obtaining any more significant land grants.[16] Actually, since the eldest son (Walter junior) was killed in the service of the Indian Department in 1755, and there is no record of the other (Thomas) after 1746, the true beneficiary was really only John Butler. Yet John Butler's rise into position, despite his family's association with Johnson was not meteoric. Instead it appears that under the patronage of Johnson, John Butler was given an opportunity to prove his worth.

Up until 1755 the career of John Butler seems to have consisted of gradually working his way into the ranks of the Indian Department. That he was present and observed much of the activities which went on between William Johnson and the Indians was reflected in his own accounts of his life in that period.[17] During this period he apparently acquired an extensive knowledge of both Indian language and customs. Thus, when in 1755 he was finally appointed as an officer, he backed his new position with nearly ten years of experience and familiarity with the affairs of the Indian Department.[18] It should be noted that John Butler was approximately thirty years old when he was finally promoted.[19] This fact alone indicates that his advancement was not necessarily rapid. However, after this initial promotion his advancement appears to have been faster. In 1755 Johnson was appointed as the ' sole Agent and Superintendent of affairs of the Northern Indians and their Allies'. The following year John Butler was promoted to a Captaincy in the Indian Department. In 1759 he was appointed second in command of the Indians in the attack and capture of Fort Niagara. In this battle he succeeded to the command of the Indians

after Johnson appropriated the command of the expedition upon the death of General Prideaux.[20] Butler also shared in the spoils of the victory, being appointed a " ...member of the court established there for the trial of civil cases." [21] In 1760 after peace had been informally established with Canada there was a major reduction in the membership of the Indian Department. By this point Butler must have proven his worth as he was one of the few retained by Johnson.[22] The relatively quick succession of promotions and rewards which came in the years after 1755 suggest that John Butler's success was closely linked to Johnson's becoming Superintendent of the Indian Department. However, Johnson was not a man to put mere patronage over his own desires for success. In other words, had John Butler been an incompetent fool there was little likelihood that Johnson would have promoted and engaged him in posts of importance, such as the second in command of the Indians at Niagara. It is important to emphasize that the career of John Butler up until 1760 had been influenced by the circumstances which affected Johnson and the Mohawk Valley. Unlike his father, John Butler was not attached to the formal British presence (typified by members of the army and colonial administration), although the nature of his employment in the Indian Department meant that he was a servant of the Crown. This circumstance, of being attached to both local concerns by ambition, as well as the policies of the British colonial administration by virtue of his employment, placed Butler in a situation of treading the line between personal gain and the potential for a conflict of interests. Not surprisingly, since the influence of the Indian Department was so pervasive in the territory west of Albany, the concept of a separation of personal gain and Department business was not practised by those men aspiring to position.

The period of peace after 1760 saw John Butler expand upon the base of influence which he had established through his service to Sir William Johnson in the Indian Department. By 1760 Johnson had himself garnered enough influence to use the resources of the Indian Department (which included its personnel) to entrench his position in civil life. The methods which were used by Johnson were mirrored to some extent by his key officers such as John Butler. From his position in the Indian Department Butler was able to move in two ways, towards office seeking, and land acquisition. In the area of office seeking, Butler, along with other Johnson supporters and allies, was put in place often at the recommendation of Johnson himself. Butler was part of the network of influence through which Johnson sought to entrench his political and social control in the area west of Albany. It is difficult to be certain of the extent of the specific influence which Johnson could wield over his appointees such as John Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, Arent Bradt, George Croghan, Hendrick Frey to name but a few.[23] It is highly unlikely that Johnson would have sought to interfere in the routine of his appointees, unless it could have been for his personal benefit. It is also unlikely that Johnson's appointees would have been moved solely on the wishes of Johnson. A survey of the names of appointments made by Johnson to the positions of magistrate and Justices of the Peace between 1762 and 1770 show that a number of these men were of some individual worth themselves. A number of these names are also found on a petition of 1771 (requesting the creation of a new county out of the territory west of Albany) which is described as representing the "Principal Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Mohock [sic] River..."[24] There is little doubt that should the occasion have arisen, personal interest would also affect the actions of such men. Besides being included in the

general category of men of substance, John Butler appeared to have enjoyed some additional preferential treatment which put him on par with certain immediate members of the Johnson clan. Butler's worth as an ally to the Johnson family seems to have been at least as important as that of Johnson's sons-in-law Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus who often appear on the same lists of recommendations sent by William Johnson to Albany.[25] John Butler was also appointed as a Lieutenant-Colonel in Guy Johnson's regiment of militia.[26] Once the county of Tryon was created in 1772 there were strong intimations that William Johnson would send Butler as a representative to the assembly in Albany. One correspondent determined the type of men Johnson should consider. " I hope that you will send us good Men, and who will do as your friends will Wish - I expect Col. Butler will be one... ".[27] It was clear, even in Albany, that John Butler could be counted on to represent the interests of the Johnsons. Why Butler did not become a representative is not clear, but it is known that Tryon county never had an elected representative in the Albany assembly before the revolutionary war.[28] Yet it seems that Butler had a reputation for being more than merely an obedient servant. One of the most significant expressions of trust and respect shown by Sir William Johnson to John Butler was to include him as one of the executors of his will. Johnson also specifically requested that Butler act as one of the guardians of his eight children by Mary Brant.[29] By being included thus, along with members of the immediate family such as John Johnson, Guy Johnson, and Daniel Claus, it seems that Butler had achieved a status which was beyond that of an employee.

John Butler was more than a servant of William Johnson. By skillful manipulation of the opportunities presented to him in both his personal

and professional life Butler was able to rise to the distinction of being one of the largest landholders in the territory west of Albany. Butler's success in the accumulation of land was directly related to the land policy of the colony of New York, as well as the attitudes of powerful landed families such as the Johnsons and the Livingstons. The precedent set in the colony by the early Dutch administration started the trend towards the procurement of large patroon grants which could include several thousand acres.[30] Naturally the power and potential wealth which went along with such huge grants were a great impetus towards ensuring the practise would continue. After the conclusion of the peace with France in 1763, attempts were made to modify and even deny the large scale direct purchasing of such lands by individuals by placing a 1,000 acre limit on the size of grants to individuals, and forbiding the private negotiation of land sales with the Indians.[31] In practise, parties interested in procuring large tracts were able to continue to subvert official efforts.[32] As official efforts clamped down harder on independent land transactions, the influential members of the Indian Department, such as John Butler, were put in an excellent position to negotiate any such deals because, by virtue of their office, any negotiations they undertook would be under the semi-official auspices of the Indian Department and were therefore not strictly independent. The Indian Department officers were also the men with the best connections to the various Indian tribes. By his own admission John Butler showed that between 1760 and 1772, he made productive use of his position as a member of the Indian Department.[33] As a member of the Indian Department, as well as being in good standing with William Johnson, Butler was able to use his official capacity carefully to avoid overtly breaking the government order. Butler's own records show that in such

cases, he was often compensated for his " ...expense and trouble..." in such negotiations by receiving a quantity of land in the tract. Although this type of dealing may have seemed a questionable practise on Butler's part, such subversions of land policy were by no means uncommon in New York colonial history. There were so many infractions in land policy by so many people that it would be more accurate to say that disobedience of colonial land policy, on the part of those seeking sizable tracts, was a policy in itself.[34] One particular method employed to subvert the involvement of the governor, and the limitations which the Proclamation of 1763 put upon acquiring enormous tracts, was to offer to arrange all transactions between the Indians and governor and " defray " all costs for procurement of the land including paying for the deed.[35] Applications for large tracts often named several individuals on one request in order to get around the 1000 acre per person limitation. The intention was that the other so called partners would then sign over their claims to the deed to one man.[36] Since Butler's own land transactions were associated with men such as George Croghan and William Johnson who used these methods, there is little doubt that he also employed them. It must be stressed that by such actions Butler was not representing any personal graft so much as reflecting the methods used extensively by those connected to the land interests. These actions had not originated with the members of Johnson's Indian Department hierarchy, but had merely been transplanted there over time from the more easterly areas of New York and periodically altered to get around any attempts at curtailment instituted by the colonial administration. In many ways the climb to importance in New York was based on the efforts of families such as the Livingstons and the Van Rensselaers. It could be said that such types of landholding precedence allowed the later land barons to

legitimize the disobedience of official policy and the administration did not have the ability to contradict such views.

The rewards of John Butler's personal involvement in the game of New York Land deals were substantial, although there is some discrepancy in various sources regarding the total acreage held by John Butler prior to the Revolution. The Butler's family tradition holds that John had around 40,000 acres.[37] However, his own accounts in his loyalist losses claim of 1785 put his acreage at closer to 10,000.[38] In 1787, he would later claim an additional sum of approximately 19,800 acres that he was " ...Equitably tho' not Legally Intitled... ".[39] Still later in 1791, he would again submit an account for an additional 27,600 acres, which he said he had not included in his loyalist claim of 1785.[40] Roughly estimated the total acreage which Butler could be said to have controlled was over 56,000 acres. In light of this it is obvious that John Butler had originally underestimated his total holdings in his claim of 1785. This type of underestimation was apparently not uncommon. It has been suggested that such underestimations occurred so that individual claims would not appear excessive to the commissioners of the loyalist claims.[41] The size of Butler's holdings indicate two characteristics. First they would have provided him with a wide geographical representation. Several of the most substantial settlements in Tryon county and in west Albany county were located in the area of his vast holdings. Butler's holdings were not in one complete block of land, but were spread out along both the Mohawk and Schoharie river systems.[42] Settlements such as Schenectady, Schoharie, Tribes Hill, Johnstown, Stone Arabia, and Canajoharie were in the area of his holdings. A second element was that Butler apparently preferred to develop his lands by the widely accepted practise of leasing parcels to tenants.[43] Unfortunately the exact

number of tenants is difficult to determine since any original records of such appear to have been lost. Despite this, it still may be surmised that since his family had had large parcels of land since at least 1735 and that settlement west of Albany had increased with the end of the state of frontier warfare in 1760, Butler may have had several hundred tenants. The combination of his large holdings, his position as a landlord, in addition to his professional position as a result of his alliance with Johnson and the Indian Department gave Butler the appearance of a very important man. These material concerns should have provided a solid foundation for Butler's overall position in New York. But in reality they did not. Despite his personal wealth Butler was still vulnerable on the social level.

Butler's exact social status is difficult to determine because of his close alliance to the Johnson family. It is probably more accurate to say that Butler's personal alliance was to Sir William rather than the entire clan because it was through Sir William's recognition and patronage that John Butler had been able to acquire position. How Sir William himself felt toward Butler on a social level is difficult to judge. Johnson's willingness to promote him both in civil and military office, as well as entrusting him with the guardianship of his children seems to show that Sir William considered Butler to be worthy of his trust. In light of this it does not seem outlandish to expect that the Johnson and Butler families would interact on social occasions. It is known that John Butler was a member of the masonic lodge in Johnstown as was William Johnson.[44] Likewise they both appeared to be members of the Anglican church.[45] Local histories written on the Mohawk Valley mention that the two families had close social relations but do not go into much detail. Claims that the eldest sons of both men were " playmates "[46] cannot really be taken as a sign that the families

were especially close because the term does not define any special relationship. What is interesting to note is that during the period when Sir William Johnson was alive, expressions of hatred against John Butler by other members of the Johnson family are difficult to find. That they existed is certain because they began to be proclaimed loudly by Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and John Dease almost immediately after the death of Sir William Johnson.[47] This gives some weight to the idea that John Butler was held in more esteem by Sir William Johnson than he was by the rest of the Johnson clan, many of whom came to view Butler as a rival to their own authority. Although the Johnson family carried much importance to John Butler, they did not dominate all of his alliances.

The establishment of his own family network, in the typically 18th century style, was of much importance to John Butler. Its methods were expressed primarily through nepotism and it was a means of entrenching one's self in positions of influence and power. Because the Johnson family dominated the area of the Mohawk Valley to such a great extent meant that rivals to their power were not going to appear over night. Through his own marriage to Catalyntje, or Catherine Bradt, John Butler began a network which seemed to have potential. The Bradt family were from Holland (although the family had roots in Norway) and had arrived in the Albany area around 1736 and apparently moved to Schenectady within a year.[48] Like the Butler's, the Bradt family was also involved in the accumulation of land (grants date from about 1737-1740) and were linked to the Indian Department. Arent Bradt, John Butler's brother-in-law was associated to Philip Livingston through their mutual appointments as commissioners in the Indian Department as well as through land deals they had mutually engaged in in the Cherry and Mohawk valleys.[49] By the

early 1740's he was known as the wealthiest man in the Schenectady area.[50] So Butler's family network seemed to have an advantageous start which his own personal success could build upon. Unfortunately for his ambition, the start of the revolutionary war pulled the rug out from under the social potential of his children. Since marriage was an important link in the expansion of family influences, and since apparently none of his own children had yet married, the Butler family was unable to widen their own network. Another problem was the comparative youth of his family. His eldest child Walter was only twenty-three in 1776, the next eldest, Thomas was only twenty-one. Walter appeared to have just begun a career as a lawyer.[51] The fact that one of his children chose law as a profession was a sign that the process of social ' betterment ' had begun to occur in the next generation.

What exactly the position of the Butler family would have been had the American revolution not occurred is an interesting if somewhat moot question. What is clear is that John Butler's position in New York society was not as solid as is often inferred. On the surface he was an apparently prosperous landowner, a respectable magistrate and militia officer, and highly connected to the most powerful family in the Mohawk Valley. Yet, his position was subject to a weakness which expressed itself primarily in the area of social connections. The basis of his professional position, his access to land, and the dictator of his connections was Johnson's Indian Department. Outside the realm of the Indian Department, Butler was a man of some standing, but he had not reached the level of becoming an independent power. Butler was always an intimate member of Johnson's circle of influence through which he benefited. Ironically his position within this circle also put him into direct competition with other members

of the Johnson clan. The fact that men like Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and John Dease would view him as competition suggests that, although Butler never posed a threat to the supremacy of his benefactor William Johnson, Butler was definitely seen as a challenger to the positions of Johnson's successors. Backed by his own resources, namely his offices and property, it could have been possible for Butler to become less directly dependent for influence upon the numerous but less illustrious successors to William Johnson. However, even if Butler could aspire to create a comfortable position for himself within the society of the Mohawk Valley he did not seem to command the level of personal loyalty as did the Johnson family. This question of personal loyalty was a factor which had relevance beyond the internal politics of the Mohawk Valley region. It is not the question of what the potential political power for Butler would have been in the years after William Johnson's death in 1774. Although he was a considerable land owner Butler did not appear to exercise any major direction of his tenants. His tenants mention no other obligation to Butler other than the payment of rent.[52] Furthermore, Butler did not personally establish any large groups of settlers, equivalent to Johnson's Highlanders, on his lands. Thus, it appears that obligations of personal loyalty between the Butler family and their tenants were not present. It is interesting to note that many of the members of John Johnson's Provincial Corps (such as the King's Royal Regiment of New York), were in fact many of Butler's former tenants. Johnson's corps also apparently held a great number of men who were former tenants of Sir John's.[53] In contrast, the majority of the membership of Butler's Rangers do not appear to have been former tenants of Butler's.[54] The question which is then raised is who were the men who made up the eight (later expanded to ten) companies of Butler's Rangers?

The fact that the majority of the men who were members of Butler's Rangers were not tenants of John Butler's make the membership of this corps slighty different from that of the Royal Regiment of New York. However, it appears that men of another loyalist corps, specifically the Loyal Rangers (also known as Jessup's Rangers), shared a similar state as that of Butler's Rangers.[55] Nevertheless such observations barely scratch the surface. It is interesting to note that in their geographical origins the members of Butler's Rangers do not differ remarkably from either the membership of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, or that of Jessup's Rangers. Where it is possible to trace the background of the members of Butler's Rangers it appears that the majority of the members were from New York, with another considerable group coming from northern Pennsylvania.[56] However, the expanse of this geographical area can be narrowed somewhat by the fact that a loose pattern of regions of actual settlement may be found amongst the Rangers. The region of the greatest density of settlement by members of Butler's Rangers can be more or less triangulated within the three points of German Flatts, in the western Mohawk Valley, Wyoming Pennsylvania in the south, and Albany in the east. Before discussing the backgrounds of the members of Butler's Rangers it is necessary to give an indication of the character of the region in which these men settled.

There were several interrelating factors which influenced the general character of this triangulated region. Of particular importance was the fact that much of the area of western New York and Northern Pennsylvania was in a frontier state. In 1774, a report by Governor Tryon for the Tryon county area (which encompassed most of the territory west of Albany) indicated that larger sections of that county remained unsettled.[57]

Although the Mohawk and upper Schoharie rivers had settlements along them, there was a definite hesitancy to move into the interior lands of western New York until after 1760. In the case of both New York and Pennsylvania the frontier state which existed was strongly influenced by the two major factors which were a product of administrative policy found in each respective colony. Those factors were the existence of warfare, and the nature of colonial land policy.

Since most of the eighteenth century was dominated by the almost continuous state of warfare between Great Britain and France, it is not surprising to find that the resulting colonial conflicts between British North America and Canada had a particular effect upon western New York and Pennsylvania. Although both colonies suffered from frontier raids New York, being more or less in the direct path of the raiding parties from Canada, was particularily hard hit. So much so that it severely curtailed the expansion of settlement west of Albany. The settlement which did occur was limited to the heavily fortified Mohawk Valley. Earliest patents for the Mohawk Valley, dating from the 1720's, reflect a desire to remain in close proximity to various established forts.[58] It is also evident from the dates of various patents that the movement into the interior areas off the river itself (and further from the forts) progressed at a slow pace over the following thirty years. Besides affecting the location and extent of settlement, the state of hostilities also contributed to the nature of the individual settler. It would be wrong to portray the settlers of the Mohawk Valley and the Schoharie region as helpless victims of the various raids which infringed upon their lives. Although the settlers may not have been a breed of warriors, they were evidently capable of accepting the necessity of defending themselves. It is obvious from the backgrounds of numerous

members of Butler's Rangers that some type of military service was familiar to them. This type of service came in two forms; previous service in a local militia, and or service within the ranks of the Indian Department.[59] In light of the threats to peace which existed it could be expected that there was a considerable amount of tenacity found in the character of the people who established themselves in the region. However, even though the period of hostility ended with the treaty of Paris in 1763, neither New York nor Pennsylvania experienced the settlement rush which would have filled up the vacant territory in those colonies. Even after the burden of war had been removed from these two colonies, and peace with the Indians secured by the Proclamation line of 1763, settlement opportunity continued to be confounded by the dictates of the existing colonial land policy.

Although the settlers of western New York and north western Pennsylvania may have shared the restrictions imposed by the lengthy existence of warfare in the region, the complications of the mutual land policies produced two very different sets of circumstances which continued to hamper the progress of additional settlement.

The land policy of New York could be best described as a structure of interwoven interests which had the effect of discouraging immigration into the colony. New York had several basic disadvantages which were a direct result of the expressions of its land policy. First, the colony was under populated. Unlike colonies such as Virginia or South Carolina, whose increasing populations in the 1760's threatened to surge past the Proclamation line of 1763, the contemporary population of New York was not putting pressure on any of its existing geographical boundaries (even as late as 1774). However, the fact that there was no great internal population

pressure did not lessen the desire of certain individuals to accumulate land. This land lust mentality contributed to the second factor which discouraged immigration. The accumulation of land had the appearance of being not so much the preserve of numerous small farmers as of only an influential few such as the Johnson, Livingston, and Van Rensselaer families. The effect of the great landlords of New York upon the character of the society of that colony seems to have fallen into two main areas. First, the practise tied up millions of acres. Second, the practise created thousands of tenant farmers.

That the system of huge grants had a negative effect upon the development of the colony of New York is an aspect on which both contemporary royal officials as well as many twentieth century historians seem to agree.[60] The effect of tenant farming is another matter. Tenant farming was widespread in New York apparently because it was the method of settlement development most frequently employed by large landholders.[61] Tenant farming had a long history in New York reaching back to the patroon grants of the original dutch administration. What is of more concern here is not so much the history of tenant farming, as what it had become by the mid-eighteenth century (roughly speaking, the period affecting the members of Butler's Rangers). Tenant farming in New York had lost most if not all of its fealty connotations by the end of the sevententh century.[62] It was also apparent that the direct authority of the landlord over his tenants in areas other than that pertaining directly to the lease agreements was limited.[63] Another aspect of tenant status was the fact that provided a tenant farmer held a life lease to his property, as well as conforming to the forty shilling freehold (required in the province of New York) he would be able to vote.[64] Thus it is possible to see that tenant status did not equate a comparison to the medieval peasant. Even

so, it is apparent that tenant status was not a desired position for a great many farmers. In her book A Factious People, Patricia Bonomi emphasizes the fact that even though tenant status often contained attractive lease terms (such as several years rent free), as well as priviledges equitable to those of a freeholder (such as the ability to vote), there was a definite " ...aversion to tenant status...".[65] To explain the fact that individuals continued to accept tenant status, despite a dislike of the situation, she proposes that tenancy was viewed by most lease holders as a " ...temporary condition-as a way station on the road to an independency...".[66] This suggestion has considerable potential especially when it is applied as an partial explanation of the extreme dislike which future loyalists would display towards the establishment of the seigneurial system in their settlements in Canada.[67] The idea of temporary establishment may also explain why no strict social categories based on the labels of tenant and freeholder seemed to have appeared amongst members of Butler's Rangers. That the vast majority of Butler's Rangers were former farmers, or of an agricultural background is something which may be found by an examination of a variety of sources, such as loyalist claims, petitions for land claims in Canada, military records as well as family histories.[68] What is more difficult to discover is the exact status of an individual.

There is a decided lack of specification on contemporary documentation as to who was a tenant and who was a freeholder.[69] Part of the problem seems to lie in the fact that there appeared to be variations on the types of land holding outside the strict division of freehold and tenant. It is apparent that amongst the membership of the Rangers themselves there was a variety of land holding arrangements. Jacob Ball, a lieutenant in the Rangers, gave evidence that he and other settlers had

been farming on Rancellors Manor for twenty years without a lease, although they did agree to pay a " ... 10th part of the Profits... " to the Rancellor family. A similar arrangement is reported by James Hayslip, a corporal, who lived on what he describes a patroon land twenty miles from Albany.[70] A private by the name of Henry Heanor had a similar no lease arrangement on land which he occupied on the Livingston manor, although no mention of tithes are made.[71] Another private, George House, stated that he had lived on some land along the Mohawk River for fifteen years without a lease or apparently paying rent to the owner.[72] The problem which exists is whether it is accurate to claim that the first three men fit into the category of tenant even though they lack the formal lease agreements. Furthermore does George House qualify as a freeholder, or a squatter? The identification of freeholders is not much easier. Apparent freeholders are only conspicuous by the lack of a mention of rent, or tithe agreements, or the fact that they lived on land belonging to someone else. If such omissions can be taken as acceptable indications of tenure then it appears that the greater number of Butler's Rangers (at least those for whom such information is available) were freeholders. An additional point of interest is the fact that this apparent predominance of freeholders seems to have been the case for those Rangers from Pennsylvania as well. Actually there seems to be several parallels which can be drawn between aspects of land policy of the colony of New York and that of Pennsylvania. Of initial consideration was the fact that the Susquehanna area, like that of western New York, was influenced by its frontier state.

The existence of a frontier state also had an effect upon those members of Butler's Rangers who originated from the Susquehanna region of northwestern Pennsylvania. Like New York, Pennsylvania also suffered a

restriction upon the expansion of settlement as a result of the years of warfare between the English and French colonies in North America. Unlike New York, the effects of warfare continued to have frequent impacts upon the attempts at settlement in the Susquehanna region long after the hostilities with Canada ceased. The area of northwestern Pennsylvania was not only the subject of French aggressions. The area was also the site of a series of colonial confrontations, between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, which began in 1750 and lasted until after the conclusion of the American Revolution. The conflict concerned the right of each colony to claim the Susquehanna-Wyoming territory for settlement. The period of hostilities which had the most significant impact upon those men who later joined Butler's Rangers, was known as the second Pennamite war (1769-1775). The gist of the conflict was a disagreement between a Connecticut land interest, known as the Susquehanna company, and the members of the Penn family. In 1763 the original claim on the region by the Susquehanna company (which had resulted in a considerable number of settlers from Connecticut coming into the area) was disallowed under the Fort Stanwix treaty, and in 1768 the territory was sold to the Penn family.[73] The change in the official ownership did not prevent the continuation of Connecticut immigration into the territory however. By basing its claims on the declarations of the Royal charter of 1662, Connecticut felt that it could still press its claims on the territory, despite the fact that in doing so it would literally have to hop over the southern extention of the colony of New York.[74] This claim was contested over several years and resulted in repeated attempts being made by the Penn family to forcibly remove the Connecticut settlers. In an attempt to secure the region the Penn family created the county of Northumberland in 1772.[75] In 1773 Connecticut tried

to establish its own definitive claim by designating the area as a New England township under the name of Westmoreland. Caught in the middle of this wrangling were the settlers. As a result of the circumstances in the Susquehanna-Wyoming region it is not surprising to find that the issue of land transactions were incredibly confused. In the nature of its land policies Pennsylvania was similar to New York, recognizing both freehold and tenant status. In fact , like New York, Pennsylvania had a high percentage of tenant farmers, and also had for a time suffered from the machinations of large landowners who stalled settlement by holding large tracts of land for speculative purposes.[76] However, the situation in the Susquehanna territory defied the maintenance of any regular land policy of any kind. Consequently it was not uncommon to find the practise of securing land title was frequently ignored, or simply not done. It is apparent that many of the people of Butler's Rangers who came from the area had no idea to which colony the territory belonged, so they would not necessarily have known which colony to approach to gain title to their lands. The confusion which existed over possession of the territory is made evident by the fact that some of the settlers would later list their place of origin as Westmoreland, Pennsylvania.[77] Yet such confusion may not have been the only reason why title was not sought. It is evident that beginning sometime in the mid-eighteenth century the settlement and improvement of vacant land in Pennsylvania became recognized as grounds for a " quasi-title ".[78] Official title could be obtained later for a fee. This practise was a significant difference from the recognition of title in the Crown colony of New York where such practises would be considered as squatting. Nevertheless, the lack of a legal title did not prevent the people of the Susquehanna region from engaging in the sale or purchasing of land, although the

fact that many often did not receive a legal proof of the transaction would later hurt those loyalists from this area who sought compensation for their losses from the British in the post war era. Another form of landholding found among the people in this area was the attainment of a proprietor's right. The proprietor's right was another confusing issue since it could be atained from both Pennsylvania and Connecticut officials. The size of the proprietor's right could vary to a maximum of 4,000 acres depending on the proportion of the right purchased.[79]

It is not surprising that land and land policy would be a major concern for the majority of people who lived in both New York and Pennsylvania. By examining the characteristics of each area it is easy to see some basic parallels. First the administration of both New York and Pennsylvania seemed hard pressed to enforce a uniform code or policy regarding land. Neither administration could control where or by whom land was accumulated. In the case of New York, it was almost impossible for the administration to combat the subterfuge of special landed interests whose main goals were directed towards personal gain, and not the best interests of the colony. A second characteristic was the existence of a land hunger mentality in both New York and Pennsylvania.[80] Despite the fact that both colonies experienced a slow increase in population (with New York being the worse off of the two) there was no shortages of people who wanted land. This was not experienced only by those who attained large tracts, although they were the most dramatic demonstration of the eagerness to acquire land. Another characteristic of men from both colonies was the lack of official documentation of their land. It was apparent that the attainment of a deed was something which numerous settlers failed to do.[81] Taken by themselves, these characteristics reflected oversights and policy failures in

their contemporary society. However, in post-war Canada these characteristics evolved into precedents which had a particular effect upon the progression of policy in this country.

Although much can be drawn from the influences which resulted from the system of landholding, these factors do not illuminate all aspects and influences which affected the members of Butler's Rangers in the pre-war colonial society. The colonial societies from which these men came were, to put it simply, vigorous. Both New York and Pennsylvania societies contained lively political elements which competed freely (and sometimes corruptly) to control avenues of political power.[82] Despite the weight of families, such as the Delancys and Livingstons of New York, and the Penns of Pennsylvania, in the area west of Albany and as far south as the Wyoming territory in Pennsylvania it was the political influence of William Johnson which made the largest and most direct impact. The reason was relatively easy to see. The influence of the Indian Department (together with all of its members) had historically dominated the frontier area of New York, and William Johnson had by 1755 come to dominate the Indian Department, as well as having gained a great deal of influence over much of the political machinery of that area.

A recognition of the ' Johnson influence ' is a mandatory part of any examination of the frontier society of western New York. William Johnson held tremendous political sway over the frontier as a result of his ability to make use of opportunities presented to him in the political arena to build upon his single greatest asset, his close relationship with the Six Nations. It has been previously mentioned that William Johnson arrived in America with relatively prestigious family connections not only to sources of British influence (in the areas of trade especially), but also to sources of influence

in colonial New York in the form of the Delancy family.[83] Yet although Johnson was able to make use of those connections he never became completely dominated by them. It has been previously noted that from his arrival in 1738 until 1744 Johnson was able to rise to a position as one of the six commissioners in the Indian Department. By 1755 he was the sole commissioner. What Johnson was able to achieve over those eleven years was due to his capitalization on his position with the Indians. In 1744 Johnson took a politically dangerous step by supporting Governor Clinton in his decision to resume the hostilities with New France. The decision was unpopular within the colony and particularily with the politically powerful chief justice James Delancy.[84] Although the military outcome of the decision was somewhat of a fiasco, for Johnson, his support of the governor resulted in a show of political gratitude. During the remainder of his administration (until 1753) Clinton came to rely heavily on Johnson's advice on Indian affairs.[85] Clinton also demonstrated his political reliance on Johnson by attaining the position of Recorder for him on the Council.[86] In an attempt to fight the forces of the powerful opposition which faced him in the assembly, Clinton put considerable emphasis on the weight of local politics. It is a tribute to the power of Johnson's influence in the Albany region that in the elections of 1752 his candidates had been able to remove the opposition, when elsewhere in the colony the Governor's supporters had been almost completely routed.[87] By the end of Clinton's governorship Johnson had established himself as a regional power of some worth. Johnson was to expand this influence again during the period of heightened hostility between the English colonies and New France which arose after 1754 and blended into the period of the Seven Years war.

The fact that Johnson made himself more or less indispensable in New

York due to his influential position amongst the Indians on the frontier meant that he, unlike most of the politicians in the Albany assembly, possessed a quality of assured continuance, especially as long as the New York frontier remained susceptible to hostility from New France. Despite the fact that Johnson had sided with Clinton in opposition to the desires of James Delancy, Johnson did not suffer any descernible set backs between 1753 and 1760 when Delancy had considerable influence on New York politics through his positions as both the acting Governor of New York, as well as an influential advisor to the temporary Governorship of Sir Charles Hardy (1755-1757).[88] In fact Johnson was able to solidify his position on the frontier in 1755 by his appointment as sole commissioner for Indian Affairs. There is some suggestion however that the appointment of Johnson also benefited the interests of the Delancy family which had always been centered around New York city. Johnson's appointment effectively eliminated the influence of Albany interests on Indian relations and trade.[89] Thus it becomes clear that together with the successes endured by Johnson and his Indian Department personnel during the Seven Years war, Johnson easily emerged as the dominant political figure in the Albany region after 1760.

It is not surprising to find that in view of Johnson's political power in the Albany-Mohawk region, an association to his interests brought an increased access to various forms of benefits. John Butler found his association to Johnson to his professional and material advantage, and it is not surprising that other families of some significance in the region should also have had connections. Names which are frequently found (besides that of John Butler) are Vrooman, Frey, Ten Broeck, and Hare.[90] It is of some note that several members of these families were to later join both

Butler's Rangers as well as the two corps raised by Sir John Johnson. It might have been thought that their inclinations towards personal loyalty might have been influenced by their inclinations towards the interests of the Johnson family. However records show that there were many members from these same families who took up the patriot cause.[91]

There is little doubt that politics and political policy were responsible for providing much of the framework of the society in colonial New York and Pennsylvania. Both colonies possessed societies which were heterogeneous, especially when compared with colonies such as Virginia. However, of the two, New York is of particular interest simply because the majority of the members of Butler's Rangers are recorded as coming from that colony.

A survey of the ethnic backgrounds of the various members of Butler's Rangers who came from New York gives evidence to the wide variety of societies represented. It appears that the largest representations were of Dutch and German origin as evidenced by names such as Ball (Bahl), Bradt, Crysler (from Greisler), Frey, Dittrict, and Ten Broeck together with many others.[92] French backgrounds are in evidence as seen in names such as Secord (from de Secor), and Picard. Scottish, Irish, and to a smaller extent English backgrounds are also present. Comparisons made between Butler's Rangers and the King's Royal Regiment of New York (here after noted as K.R.R.N.Y.) and the Loyal Rangers reveal other subtle ethnic aspects. It appears that the members of Butler's Rangers and Loyal Rangers contained a higher number of American born members than did the K.R.R.N.Y.[93] Johnson's group also appeared to have had a greater number of Scottish and Irish born members than either Butler's Rangers or the Loyal Rangers. Many of the scots seem to have been former tenants of Sir John

Johnson and, led by the influential Macdonnells, had remained loyal and eventually joined Johnson in Canada. From the wide ethnic background it is not surprising to find that there was also a variety of religious sects present. From the information which is available regarding the various families it appears that there were Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, French Huguenots, as well as Quakers. It might have been possible that Roman Catholics were also present since there were a number of Scottish Roman Catholics present on the lands of Sir William Johnson. Nevertheless, from information available it appears that the majority were members of some protestant sect. In view of the presence of so many differences in a single colony it is not surprising that tensions would exist. New York was a factious colony for reasons other than her politics.

That New York society contained a fair share of ethnic and religious competition and bickering cannot be contested. It was found in high level politics, in things such as the debates of the Delancys and Livingstons (and their respective interests) over the establishment of the Anglican church, as well as in the more common place suspicions of the palatinate farmers against Sir William Johnson's Roman Catholic Scottish tenants.[94] Religion also found its way into the political strategies of William Johnson as he sought to further associate the Iroquois nation to the interests of the British administration in New York by promoting the efforts of Anglican missionaries on the frontier.[95] That tension existed towards certain ethnic groups is also in evidence. Of particular note is the frustration expressed by men such as William Johnson against the clannishness of the Dutch, particularly in the Albany region (which had tended to retain its original ' dutchness ' instead of being influenced by the greater heterogeneousness of the more southern reaches of New York, especially around New York

city).[96] Yet despite the existence of such tensions and frustrations against varying religious and ethnic factors in New York society, the colony was not plagued by widespread acts of sectarian or ethnic violence. For all of the wrangling which went on between supporters and opponents of the Anglican church (especially on a political level) there is evidence that there could be instances of cooperation between Anglicans and other sects. There has been some suggestion that for reasons which included the maintenance of healthy congregations as well as the availability of clergymen, cooperation was a positive solution for sects with compatible doctrines. It is apparent that both the Lutheran and Huguenot churches found few problems with allowing Anglican clergymen to serve and sometimes even take over the congregation of their churches when necessary.[97]

It is obvious that colonial New York society was influenced by a number of complex and at times confusing aspects. It should therefore be unsurprising that a similar complexity would surround the way in which New Yorkers responded to the effects of the American Revolution. New York politics had never based loyalty to the crown on a total support for the various administrations. Personal interest had been accepted as a good reason for either support or opposition to a governor, or even government policy. It appears that personal interest also had some effect on the political choices which were demanded during the Revolution. It appears that John Butler had little hesitation in choosing which side he fought for in the ensuing conflict. Being so allied to the Johnson interests (including the Indian Department) it appears natural that he would flee with Sir John Johnson to Canada in 1775. His resolve to remain so was no doubt influenced by the arrest and imprisonment of his wife and remaining

family at Albany, in addition to the confiscation of his estate. Unfortunately, in the case of the average man, the choices were not often that clear. What prompted a particular individual to become a loyalist is sometimes found in a reaction to circumstances rather than in ideology.

Jacob Ball declared that he " ...kept as quiet as well as he could, but was fined and imprisoned- In 1778 he left to join Butler's Rangers. ".[98] Adam Crysler, Joseph and Lewis Clement, Daniel Servos, McGregor VanEvery, and Issac Dolson were some of the Rangers who declared that they had been imprisoned for their support of the King prior to their joining Butler's Rangers. Benjamin Fralick and William Picard declared that they had been burnt out by various patriot groups prior to joining the Rangers. Daniel Servos also stated that in 1778 his father had been shot by patriots outside the family home. These were some of the reasons which were stated by various members of Butler's Rangers as to why they took up military resistance against the Revolution. It seems clear that to these loyalists it was the various incidents of violence against them which induced them to take up arms against the patriots. What such statements do not explain is why these men and their families had originally remained loyal. That area remains subject to historical interpretations.

There is no shortage of interpretations as to what prompted people to become loyalist as opposed to supporting the patriot cause. William Nelson, in his book The American Tory, has determined that the loyalist decision was prompted by regional fears and jealousies in the form of a frontier versus the seaboard thesis. Nelson also points out that most of the loyalists were from non-english backgrounds (which also included the absence of the popular use of the english language). These factors also combined with the presence of a number of religious minorities amongst many loyalist

groups. According to Nelson these groups felt a fear of the english speaking majority, thus they had an inclination towards remaining under the security they had known under the British administration of the colonies.[99] As a generalization the theory is basically sound and does reflect the fact that the majority of Butler's Rangers were not English.While this theory has its merits in proposing an explanation as to why the frontier regions of the various colonies seemed to produce the most loyalists, it has certain shortcomings when applied to individual cases. The most obvious proof of this is the fact that in their loyalist claims no member of Butler's Rangers mentions any reasons which could be seen to relate to Nelson's overall theory. In making a somewhat generalized statement the theory ignores the impact of specific incidents upon individual loyalists. The theory formulates a reasonable argument as to why a man remained loyal, but tends to ignore what prompted him to pick up a musket.

It appears that direct acts of persecution were primary motivations for the active participation of many of Butler's Rangers. Both New York and the Susquehanna region were noted for the severity of their persecution of loyalists.[100] Yet, there were other incidents which prompted loyalist participation. There is some suggestion that opportunity was a particular aspect related to when and where particular members of the Rangers joined organized military resistance against patriot forces. It appears that penetrations of British and loyalist forces into certain regions resulted in the recruitment of numerous loyalists. One of the most extensive forays seems to have been Burgoyne's campaign through New York in 1777, which included Colonel Barry St. Leger's diversion through the Mohawk Valley.[101] Both actions had the effect of stirring up local loyalist support, especially in

the Mohawk and Schoharie areas. Unfortunately the failure of the expedition and the subsequent retreat of the British left many loyalists high and dry. Having openly declared themselves for Great Britain they had lost the protection of ambiguity. As a result there appeared to be three options: " ...joining Burgoyne who was camped above Albany, of going to Canada, or of returning to their homes. ".[102] One offshoot of this failure was the subsequent growth of the membership of the Provincial Corps in Canada, in particular of Johnson's K.R.R.N.Y. and later Butler's Rangers.

The practise of recruitment did not end with St. Leger's defeat. Throughout the period of the war it was practised by various corps commanders to maintain the strengths of their units. The extent to which the recruitment of loyalists went to was somewhat notorious and it was not above any corps recruiter to ' steal ' potential recruits destined for other corps.[103] Butler's Rangers in particular seemed to have had little problem maintaining their strength even though they had one of the highest casualty rates of any Provincial corps.[104] The attractiveness of the pay rate of Butler's Rangers, which was roughly twice that of any other group, was no doubt another incentive. Of course not every loyalist was eager to drop everything and go to Canada. In these cases it appears that particular forms of coercion could be used. Such an example is found in Joseph Brant's raid through the old England district of New York in 1778. Brant had appeared to warn local loyalist families about impending patriot hostilities. Brant was said to have attempted to persuade the various families to leave with him. Confronted with signs of hesitency Brant warned that should they stay he could not protect them and they would have to "...take their own risk."[105] Apparently realizing their unenviable position Brant's warning had the affect of encouraging several families to go with him

immediately.

That demonstrations of loyalty came in a variety of forms should not be surprising, especially when the nature of the hostilities are considered. The American Revolution was a very intimate war on the frontier. It was not simply a matter of two uniformed armies facing each other. In the Mohawk it was more often than not neighbors and divided families which faced off. After Burgoynes defeat in 1777 there were no other major campaigns mounted by British regiments in the region.[106] Instead, the maintenance of the British presence was left up to the actions of the Provincial Corps who were based primarily in Canada. As stated originally, out of these corps the most notorious was Butler's Rangers. The reasons for this reputation were based on the fact that Butler's Rangers were the most active and effective loyalist unit in addition to being the unit which remained in the field the longest.[107] As a ranger corps Butler's Rangers were closely associated with the participation of the various Indian groups which fought as British allies during the war. This fact enhanced the terror felt by those who were subject to the loyalist raids during the war. The Indians had always been feared on the frontier and the fact that the Iroquois had been traditionally friendly with the Johnson family had disturbed patriot supporters as early as 1775, (so much so that the potential threat of the use of the Indians was enough to prompt the attempted arrest of Sir John Johnson along with other influential members of the Indian Department who were identified as Tories).[108] Fear of Butler's Rangers was further ensured by the aftermath of the raids conducted into the Cherry Valley in 1778.[109] The fact that the Ranger's actions took the form of raids was to increase fear since it added an element of the unpredictable to the wartime atmosphere. The ferocity and

effectiveness of such campaigns certainly help emphasize the peculiar affect of civil wars, where persecution and the ensuing revenge tear societies apart.

Heroes or villians? As a study of Butler's Rangers heads deeper into the period of the American Revolution the specter of traditional historical labels threatens to arise. It is difficult not to be judgemental when facing the actions and results of those actions taken by the various sides during the war. It is for this reason that an examination of the pre-war society becomes essential to providing a clearer picture of influence which colored the character of the people who founded Canada's english speaking society. The importance of the pre-war colonial society lies in the precedents of methods, influences, and actions which shaped that society and resulted in a particular way of accomplishing things. This provided not only an institutional blueprint, but it also inspired a particular mentality within the residents of that society. Colonial New York and Pennsylvania were not re-established in Canada, yet the methods of those societies would show up frequently in the first years of re-settlement as people attempted to regain position and success. The pre-war society also provides clues to particular responses and reactions of the settlers towards certain circumstances (such as the concerns over land tenure) which later confronted them. Examining the nature of the pre-war society also helps to provide an understanding of the later actions of John Butler. Butler had spent his life learning how to exploit the possibilities of a particular system built around the Indian Department and the interests of William Johnson. The major tenets of that system involved a great deal of autonomy for the Indian Department in addition to presenting particular opportunities for the betterment of its members. It is not surprising to find that the

circumstances which in future would alter the authority of the Indian Department would also affect John Butler. The examination of the pre-war society of New York and Pennsylvania allows for an important point of comparison for the post-war settlement at Niagara. It also helps to emphasize that policy changes instituted by the British administration in Canada could come much faster than would changes in methods and attitudes of the loyalists at whom such changes were directed.

Chapter Two

The establishment of a permanent settlement at Niagara was not the result of a carefully planned decision on the part of the British administration in either Quebec or London. The fact that Niagara was able to claim the distinction of being the first permanent loyalist settlement in Canada was a result of the need to respond to the problem of supplying Niagara and the other upper posts and not out of any official foresight on the part of the British administration. The settlement existed specifically to provide agricultural produce to supplement the rations of the garrison and help to offset the demands made on the garrison's supplies by refugee Indians and settlers. The settlement at Niagara was not a product of normal frontier expansion. The Niagara settlement was in itself a combination of several factors. The nature of the settlement was a curious balance between its official raison d'etre, and the interests of its inhabitants. Haldimand's decision to allow settlement at Niagara was based on his conception of the military role which such a settlement would play with regard to the situation of the military there. Although apparently accepted, ultimately, the interpretation would not be agreeable to every participant in the scheme.

Despite the fact that Fort Niagara was some distance from most of the famous battles of the American Revolution, it was by no means a backwater concern. It was a major staging area, from 1778 to 1783, for the raids carried out by Butler's Rangers (in conjunction with Indian allies and members of the Indian Department) against the American forces throughout the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and as far south as the future state of Kentucky.[110] However, as a result of the escalation of hostilities against groups reportedly loyal to the British (which included white settlers as well as Indians), Fort Niagara also became a

collection point for refugees. In 1779, the American army launched a major campaign, under the command of General John Sullivan which resulted in the destruction of numerous native villages. The intention had been to force the tribes who were allied with the British into accepting an American imposed peace.[111] Strategically it failed in that respect. What it did result in was the the migration of several thousand Indians into the Fort Niagara and Detroit regions. The origin of loyalist settlement in the area was a result of these actions.

The problems of supplying the posts on the upper lakes were historic. The distance from the rest of the populated areas of the old British colonies meant that it took more money to maintain a garrison at Niagara or Detroit as opposed to further down the lakes. It also took a greater amount of time to transport supplies when needed. Once the war began such weaknesses were exacerbated. Unfortunately the British were not in a position to think solely of economic expediency. In June of 1779 Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Quebec, summed up the problems of supplying the garrisons in the upper country when he told Lord Germain that he feared the mounting costs of provisioning these posts, but that he was also very much aware of the danger of losing the support of the Indians in the area, many of whom were drawing rations at Niagara and Detroit.[112] He estimated that the needs for these posts, in the way of rations for the following year, would be double that of the present year. Rationing was further frustrated by the fact that Haldimand was forced by the circumstances of the day to restrict the transportation of food stuffs and arms by private traders because of the fear that it might fall into the hands of the Americans. A return on the number of Indians at Niagara between December 30, 1778 and January 26, 1779 stated that at the time there had been a total of 2,623 present, and of

that total 1,581 continued to remain at the end of the period.[113] Within that number there were represented some twenty-two different tribes. The rationing problem at Niagara increased substantially over the course of 1779 and by the end of that year there were around 5,000 Indians present in the Niagara area.[114] An interesting feature of the correspondence in this period which concerned the provisioning of the upper posts (whether it came from the Governor, the Commanding officer of the garrison, or members of the Indian Department), was that such correspondence seldom mentioned the presence of white refugees drawing rations.

The exact number of white non-military persons present at Niagara is difficult to determine. It would be expected that there would have been groups of ' Tory ' refugees from the area of western New York, as well as some of the families of the men who were active in Butler's Rangers. Since such detailed accounts of the number of Indians were made at Niagara it would be expected that any additional persons drawing rations would also have been mentioned. Such groups are not noted, although Haldimand does make a vague reference in his official correspondence to London about " other Extraordinaries " being part of the provisioning problems at the upper posts.[115] One reason why the presence of white refugees were not noted was that there were not suppose to be any at the post. Apparently it was the policy to send all white refugees and Ranger's families who arrived at Niagara down to loyalist refugee camps on lower Lake Ontario. Considering the wretched condition of some of these people when they arrived, it could be expected that delays in transport may have resulted, which would account for some ' extraordinaries ' being present.[116] There was also the chance that some people would not cooperate with the policy and remain at the post despite orders to the contrary. It may have been

expected that as commander of the Rangers John Butler would have seen to it that his men complied with the order. However, it seems that both he and his son Walter were in sympathy with their men who wished to have their families remain with them.

Haldimand was certainly not unaware of the status of refugees at Niagara. By late 1779 and early 1780 there seemed to be an increasing desire on the part of some Rangers to have their families present at Niagara. The correspondence from both John Butler and his son Walter show that they were in sympathy with these requests.[117] They also lobbied on behalf of some of the larger families at Niagara in order to gain some form of relief for them. It is not surprising to find that during this same period John Butler was himself trying to get permission to bring his own family from Carleton Island to Niagara.[118] Although provisioning requests were never denied, requests to bring families to Niagara were almost always forbidden since they would only add to the problems of provisioning in addition to complicating the military function of the post. Because of the provisioning problem at Niagara the government appeared to have had no option for the refugee loyalist families other than to send them down river.[119]

From very early on Haldimand was aware that the provisioning and refugee problems were related. The decision finally to allow the creation of an agricultural settlement at Niagara was a result of Haldimand's attempt to find a remedy for both problems. Yet, it appears that Haldimand was uncertain about the wisdom of creating such a settlement during wartime and had struggled with the idea for two years prior to his final decision. Apparently, the idea to create agricultural settlements whose produce would supplement the rations of the various posts on the upper lakes was

something which Haldimand had been thinking of for several years, although he admitted that his original plan had envisioned the creation of such settlements during a time of peace.[120] The fact that Britain was at war seemed to have had an important effect in making Haldimand hesitant about instituting his plan. There is some suggestion that Haldimand may also have been disappointed with the negative response he received from Colonel Mason Bolton (the commanding officer at Fort Niagara) regarding Haldimand's inquiry on the feasibility of such a project.[121] However Haldimand's hesitancy may also have been influenced by the dictates of the official policy regarding the settlement in the area of the upper posts. Previous British policy had sought to prevent settlement in the area of the upper posts primarily to reassure the Indians in the area and avoid any potential hostilities. Since many of the various Indian tribes in the area were important allies of the British during the American Revolutionary war, it is probable that Haldimand had no desire to cause any tension between Great Britain and these native allies by allowing settlement at Niagara. That Haldimand did ultimately consent to the establishment of an agricultural settlement at Niagara was not necessarily a demonstration of retreat under pressure. In creating the settlement at Niagara he did not provide a carte blanche for the potential settlers. The nature of the new settlement, as determined by Haldimand, would be designed to serve the needs of the garrison in addition to being subject to the authority of the garrison's commanding officer. However, as time went on it became clear that these original directives were being subjected to some alteration as a result of the weight of local demands.

Judging from the designations made in his original orders to Mason Bolton in July of 1780, Haldimand had every intention of ensuring that the

direction of the dispensation of land and the organization of a local market for the proposed settlement be subject to the authority of the garrison commander.[122] By giving control of the basic sources of livelihood to the commanding officer of the garrison, it appears that Haldimand was trying to ensure that the settlement would evolve to serve the provisioning needs of the garrison during the period of war, and not become dominated by the desires of civilian self interest. By giving control of the granting of land to the commanding officer, the garrison (and thus the interests of the government) could ensure that settlers did not spread out, making themselves vulnerable to attack, and increase the problem of defense at Niagara. It would also prevent any possibility of activating any tension with the Indians in the region by giving the commanding officer the power to restrict settlement to the area which had been purchased from the Mississauga Indians for the settlers. An additional benefit for the garrison was gained from the ability of the commanding officer to determine an appropriate price which the garrison would pay for local produce. Since, by Haldimand's instruction, there was no alternative market for the produce at Niagara it may have seemed that the farmers were being subject to a local monopoly of sorts. However, it was likely that the intention behind the rule was to secure as much of the local agricultural production for the garrison as well as ensuring that the garrison would not be subjected to excessive prices. Although such practises may have given the garrison an advantage, they did not win the support of the farmers who established themselves in the settlement throughout the period from 1780 to 1783. Even though the vast majority of these men were former members of Butler's Rangers, they were also former farmers, and not professional soldiers.[123] Instead of gravitating towards the authority of the garrison,

over time the agricultural settlement at Niagara came to make its own requests and requirements known in a way which showed that the interests of the settlers did not necessarily coincide with an acceptance of Haldimand's original purpose for the settlement.

The inclusion of John Butler in the relationship between the prospective farmers of the Niagara settlement, and the British authority (represented locally by the garrison and provincially by Haldimand) was one of the major reasons why the individual interests of the Niagara settlement were able to gain a considerable amount of recognition from the British administration in Canada. By establishing himself as the chief advocate for the settlers at Niagara, Butler was able to subvert some of the authority to direct the progress of the settlement from the garrison commander. Demands for supplies, and later, demands for tenure, were voiced through John Butler's correspondence with Haldimand, and not by the garrison commander. That Butler should have become involved is not really strange considering that the supply of farmers were to be found primarily from ' retired ' members of his Ranger group. Haldimand himself gave official sanction to Butler's involvement in July of 1780. In his instructions to Colonel Bolton, Haldimand made it clear that he considered Butler's presence to be an advantage in assisting Bolton's task.

> " ...[John Butler] with whom I have conferred has promised to give you every assistance in his Power, and from his Knowledge of Farming, his being on the spot with his Rangers, and his Acquaintance and Influence with those who may be found to settle, I am persuaded You will find him very useful."[124]

It would soon appear that in the case of John Butler the term ' useful ' could have been considered as either a misnomer or a littote depending on the circumstances.

The most accurate description of John Butler's attitude towards the settlement across from Fort Niagara is zealous. From the beginning he sought to ensure its every need and by an almost constant stream of letters, to make Haldimand aware of every piece of progress. In the first year of its existence he was also as eager to recommend many of his own men as potential settlers. Not surprisingly many of those who did initially settle were from the groups Butler and his son had been describing to Haldimand in earlier letters, the older members, and those with large families. An important criticism which had been made towards establishing any sort of agricultural settlement at Niagara was that it would take the settlers up to seven years to develop their holdings enough to provide the garrison with any sort of decent supplies.[125] In reality it did not take quite that long to establish a good enough base for the settlers to begin providing for the garrison. However, just how successful the settlers were depended upon whose reports were being read.

Upon reading the reports sent by Butler to Haldimand and his secretary Robert Mathews in the period from 1780-1782 the impression which is given is that there was a bit of subtle self promotion going on. Because Butler had apparently tied the enhancement of his own position to the success of the agricultural endeavour at Niagara, the picture which he presented in these reports appeared to contain elements of liberal augmentation. Butler's reports maintain an almost constant level of positiveness. Never does he criticise the conduct or achievements (or lack of) of the settlers. The language of his reports is also very careful.

Although his string of requests for support and supplies from the Governor are constant, never do they reflect a demanding tone. In addition, any negative feelings which may have come from the settlers (with regard to the lack of certain articles or the fact that seed grain may not have arrived on time) are filtered through his pen into polite requests.[126] He seems particularily adept at using sympathetic manipulation towards ensuring that the government continue to feel obligated to allow rations for every new settler who established himself and his family at Niagara. In short John Butler displayed the talents of a man accustomed to soliciting various forms of support from people who may not consider him a social equal. How the various commanding officers felt about John Butler's involvement seems to have varied. It appears that Bolton was not really concerned. He apparently had little taste for his situation at Niagara and therefore may have welcomed Butler's intercession with the settlers as a means of divesting himself of a responsibility of which he was not especially keen. Neither of the next two commanders of the Niagara garrison (Brigadier General Watson Powell, October 1780 to November 1782 and Brigadier General Allan Maclean, November 1782 to October 1783) seemed to have had any objections to Butler's involvement. The only sign of hesitancy towards Butler's position came from Maclean who declared to Haldimand that he thought Butler no longer had a sense of objectivity towards the interests of the settlement.[127]

It is obvious that the commanding officers at Fort Niagara had a different point of view concerning the actual success of the settlement across the river from them. It was well known that Lieutenant Colonel Mason Bolton was not excited about the initiation of settlement. His successors Brigadiers General H. Watson Powell and Allan Maclean also

held their own views on the subject. The most obvious example of opinions differing between Butler's report and that of the commanding officer's occurred in June of 1782. Butler's report to Robert Mathews dated June 12, 1782 contains a glowing account of the progress of the farmers at Niagara. Powell's report to Haldimand dated June 27, 1782 is much more negative claiming that " ...the farmers raised scarcely enough for their own consumption. ". The judgement submitted by Powell seems to have been at the request of Haldimand himself and may have perhaps been an attempt to gain an opinion other than Butler's. What Haldimand thought of the two conflicting reports is not known, but it may have caused him to wonder about how progress of such settlements was to be defined.

John Butler was always more than ready to reiterate what he defined as the growing importance of farmers at the Niagara settlement. In view of the negative feelings which other observers in the area had, there is little doubt that Butler's support played some role in keeping that faith of government officials towards the potential of the project. At the same time it is important to realize that although Butler may have put a bit more cheeriness into his dispatches than was really warranted, the fact was that the settlers at Niagara did begin to make some recognizable progress after 1781. In 1782 Haldimand ordered Butler to take a census of the settlement and to include such marks of progress as number of acres cleared, number and type of livestock, as well as the type of crops being planted. The census which resulted gives an interesting indication of the character and general health of the settlement. There were sixteen men together with their families which gave a population total of eighty four (one male slave was included in the tally). Forty nine of the inhabitants were children. By August 25th, which was the date of the census, these people had cleared

236 acres, and produced a number of crops which totaled 1,718 bushels. Altogether their livestock numbered 243 (made up of horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep).[128] Considering that this was achieved in under two years (because of the late arrival of seed in 1780 crops were not planted until the following spring) it appears that the people were in fact making a good go of their settlement. However, to get a more accurate view of the settlement it is necessary to go into a bit more detail. The first problem encountered is that the census details do not include the dates at which each settler actually began to farm. Instead, it is the number of acres cleared which becomes an indication of how long a settler had been on his land. The number of acres cleared varied widely from a maximum of thirty down to only four. There were six men with less than ten acres cleared, which seems to indicate that these were relatively recent arrivals. There were also five men with less than twenty acres cleared. The remaining five had cleared acreages which ranged from twenty to thirty acres, giving the impression that these individuals had been resident the longest. Of course even this estimation is weakened by the fact that it is not known how much of the total acreage listed was actually cleared by other sources prior to the establishment of the settlement. Another interesting point to make is that the largest crop yields did not come necessarily from those with the largest acreage cleared. In fact the total yields vary substantially even among those with the same amount of land cleared. Philip Bender and Harmanus House, who each cleared twelve acres apiece, produced yields of sixty and eighty bushels respectively. John Depue who had sixteen acres cleared produced a total yield of 250 bushels whereas Isaac Dolson with thirty acres cleared produced a total yield of 156 bushels. However, there is one other facet which should be recognized. Those individuals who

produced the highest yields for the number of acres cleared were also the ones who seemed to have planted mainly corn and potatoes as opposed to wheat and oats. Even though it is impossible to know exactly how many acres were allocated for each crop by the individual farmers, it appears that these two crops were the most successful. However, since the farmers did not put their entire acreage into corn and potatoes their total yields were not as high as they might have been. This factor might have been part of the reason why observers such as Powell considered the efforts of the farmers to be less than successful, especially compared with the agricultural efforts undertaken by 1,500 Indians at Buffalo Creek who, under the direction of members of the Indian Department, obtained a large crop of corn.[129] An interesting note is that it was at the suggestion of Butler himself that the project was undertaken. Perhaps Butler sought an insurance policy against possible failure of the settlement across from Niagara, or maybe he simply desired to alleviate provision shortages amongst the Indians. Another thing which is interesting to note is the large number of livestock which were present. The largest numbers of animals were hogs (103), and cattle (sixty one). There were nearly fifty horses and a small number of sheep. There is no account of such a large number of livestock being sent up for the settlement at this point and since the number and variety of animals seem beyond what would be kept for a garrison, it must be assumed that most of these animals were brought to the area by the refugee families. Despite the fact that the settlement may not have been seen as outrageously successful by certain observers, there seems to have been a subtle acceptance of the idea by the people that the settlement would become permanent.

The idea that the settlement would become permanent was not

something which was overtly expressed by the people through either vocal or written means. Instead, the indications for the intention of establishing a permanent settlement were given by the increasing pace of development and improvements which were undertaken by the first farmers who arrived in 1780, as well as those individuals who established themselves in the following four years. However, it was not only the fact of settlement which showed the desire for permanent establishment, it was also the indication that, starting at least as early as 1782, the settlers had begun to identify their own interests with the settlement at Niagara.

It appears that the development of the settlement at Niagara was pushed along by the desires of the people who had settled there. By the middle of 1782 it was clear that some settlers had established themselves securely enough to desire to develop their situation further. Butler made Robert Mathews aware of the intentions of James and Peter Secord (a former lieutenant and his son a former private) to construct a saw and grist mill at the settlement.[130] This ambitious project received the rather terse reply that any mill constructed for private ownership would not be permitted, but that the Secords would be permitted and paid to operate a government owned mill.[131] It was clear that at this point the governor still sought to maintain his design for the settlement and was not going to allow the development of such independent means at Niagara. Such answers did not result in the creation of a wait and see attitude among the farmers, nor did it decrease the intention for further development which existed amongst the ever increasing numbers of settlers at Niagara throughout the period from 1782 to 1784. Part of the reason for the increasing interest appeared to be the fact that many of the members of Butler's Rangers arrived at their own conclusions about the outcome of the war long before

any treaty had been formally signed.

There was a good indication by March of 1783 that many more people at Niagara had begun to take an interest in making post-war provisions for themselves and their families. It was clear that rumors regarding an impending peace were resulting in a good deal of speculation. An interesting observation regarding the objectivity of John Butler was made by Brigadier General Allan Maclean to Haldimand on March 29th. Regarding the construction of a mill at the settlement, he declined to ask the advice of Butler, reasoning that " ...it is a hard matter for the best men to divest themselves of prejudice, or partiality, in a matter wherein they are interested... "[132] It seemed that Butler's advice towards special projects for the settlement had picked up a shade of self interest slanted more towards civilian than military aspects. Two days later Butler wrote his own letter to Mathews in which he admits that the accounts of the peace which he and his men had heard would probably " ...make a great alteration in the Situation of my officers and men... "[133] He then adds that

> " ... many of them are looking about for settlements, and if His Excellency would give them lands here there are many of them I am persuaded that will not think of removing - Eight of the officers have already made considerable Improvements. "

The letter goes on to mention a good tract of Indian land, described as extending to the twelve mile creek and westward, which may be purchased for a " considerable settlement ". And for the first time the subject of the dissatisfaction of the settlers with the present situation of tenure is mentioned. By this time it was more obvious that the settlers across from Fort Niagara were no longer content to suppress particular feelings of dissatisfaction towards the nature of the settlement as originally defined in

1780. It also appeared that certain individuals were not above a measure of subtle blackmail to force the government to react in a way more favourable to the growing demands of the settlers for their own land. An example of such prodding could be seen in the submission of an account for surveying the lots of sixteen families at Niagara which was dated April 4th, 1783, prior to the reception of any official permission to do so.[134] In such actions the intercession of Butler stands out. Butler apparently asked Brigadier General Maclean to help intercede with the Governor for a letter from Maclean dated May 3, 1783 again mentions the desire for a more secure tenure and the availability of the tract of Indian land. The sentiment of Butler and his men is punctuated by the dramatic remark that they would prefer to go to Japan than return to the former colonies " ...where they could never live in Peace."[135] It was evident that many of the men of Butler's Rangers had already determined to settle at Niagara, and that their ambitions for their settlement went beyond its original designation as a agricultural settlement to supply the garrison. In their demands for freehold tenure it is clear that those individuals seeking to settle at Niagara, as well as those already present there, maintained a view which harkened back to their American colonial origins. In light of this, it is not surprising to find that these people would be extremely dissatisfied with the Royal Proclamation whch followed on the heels of the official peace.

George III and his government chose to recognize the contributions and sacrifices made by loyalists in his instructions dated July 16, 1783. The instructions were quite specific. The Surveyor General was to lay out lands in the patterns of seigneuries of uniform size, and land quantities were directed as 100 acres per head of family plus fifty acres per family

member. A single man would receive fifty acres. Non- commissioned officers received 200 acres, and privates received 100 acres. Both also received fifty acres per family member. Terms of holding were those of the Province of Quebec. It was also directed that as many settlers as possible were to be placed at Sorel.[136] A month later Lord North sent Haldimand additional instructions saying that the bay of Chaleur was being considered as the other site for loyalist settlement.[137] There is no doubt that the King and his ministers felt that their actions were benevolent. Nevertheless, they were completely out of touch with what the people at Niagara were considering.

By the end of 1783 it was becoming obvious that Haldimand's agricultural settlement had taken several steps toward transforming itself into something else. A slow but steady growth in the number of settlers who chose to establish themselves at Niagara had several effects upon the transition of the nature of the settlement. Haldimand's original proposals for the settlement were characterized by the degree of control and direction they imposed over the development of the settlement itself. Although there were no specific restrictions upon the freedom of individual farmers with regard to how they went about the business of agriculture, the authority of the commanding officer of the garrison in areas such as land granting, as well as regulating the prices of agricultural produce, imposed a strict guideline which affected the basic levels of settlement life. However, the restriction found in Haldimand's orders of 1780 did not maintain their original intention. Despite the fact that the settlement's reason for existence was to ease the provisioning problem of the Niagara garrison, there is nothing to suggest that the farmers at Niagara ever completely identified their personal interests with the garrison. That is not

to deny the fact that they depended upon the garrison for rations, a market, and for protection. However, there was an important difference in emphasis between the interests of the military and the civilian populace. It is evident, by the request found in the dispatches of John Butler to Haldimand, from 1780 to 1783, that over the period the people advanced from requests to demands in a relatively short time. This seems to have been closely tied to the slow improvement in the condition of the settlement itself, and the idea that the settlement would become a permanent home for many former Rangers. Thus there arose increased objections to the restricted market as well as the lack of tenure.[138] Despite the difficulty of settlement, the nature of the people who settled at Niagara did not appear to be passive when there were recognizable differences between what people wanted and what the government policy was willing to accept. In many ways this early relationship between what government policy intended at Niagara, and what the people desired foreshadowed some of the general differences of opinion which would arise in the post-war era.

Chapter Three

It is not surprising to find that in a period of re-establishment some of the most important conflicts between the British administration in Canada and the loyalists would revolve around land policy. The issues which surrounded land possession were a basic concern to the people, not only because they affected the chief means of survival, namely agriculture, but also because such issues would have a bearing upon the social and economic aspects of the new loyalist society. In colonial America, land had represented wealth, prestige, and influence for those men who controlled sizeable tracts. To the average farmer, land had represented his immediate source of livelihood, as well as the major family legacy. That these concerns were carried with the loyalists into their new situations had a considerable influence upon their reactions to the land policy which the British government attempted to implement in the new loyalist settlements. Of course the belief in the superiority of the English colonial system, with which the loyalists at Niagara were familiar, was also a factor which contributed to their objections against the British policy. In contrast to this point of view were the rationalizations of the British policymakers. In its intent the policy was actually a combination of an attempt to reinforce a legal abstraction while providing a framework for the resettling of between ten and thirty thousand people who were in Canada under the broad designation of loyalist. The legal abstraction which the policy sought to enshrine was the supremacy of the Crown. The reinforcement of this abstraction was a direct reaction to the challenge of the Crown's authority during the American Revolution. Loyalty and land thus became intertwined. In the wake of the American Revolution loyalty became a prerequisite for landholding in Canada, and the manner of landholding was supposed to have reinforced loyalty. The desire to ensure the

supremacy of the Crown also had a practical political side. It strengthened government control. Hopefully people would obey policy more readily if the right of the government to construct such policy was firmly established. However there were other factors to consider.

In their attempt to resettle several thousand loyalists the British were faced with a situation of potential chaos. The immediate concern was to find a place for the thousands of loyalists to settle. The British were not in a position to treat the situation in a laissez-faire way. Other considerations which had to be made were the opinions of the French Canadians who made up the numerical majority of white people in Canada, as well as the expectations of those Indian loyalists who had established themselves in British territory north of the Great Lakes. The need to ensure order for the establishment of the new settlers, in addition to avoiding possible confrontations between these other interests in Canada, provided the basic shape for policy. The British land policy was designed not just for the American loyalists, but for the entire Province of Quebec.

The original desire of the British to settle the American loyalists in seigneuries around Sorel, the Bay of Chaleur and on the Gaspe was an attempt to mollify the unease of the French Canadians who distrusted the presence of the former English colonists as well as preserve the territory on the upper lakes for the Indians. There was some hope that the Indians would be able to re-establish their role in the fur trade.[139] The seigneurial system had the additional advantage for the British officials of creating concentrated settlements which would be easier to govern and supervise. This type of settlement also facilitated better defence by allowing " ...the contiguous settlement of officers and privates... ".[140] Loyalty was also thought to be fostered in such surroundings because of the leadership

provided by the presence of officers. In the actual design of their land policy the British administration appeared to be quite fair in their appraisal of the situation. Through this policy the British sought to reward the loyalists by land grants which provided compensation for losses. The perceived weaknesses in the pre-war policy towards the original English colonies was to be corrected by reinforcing the authority of the British administration in Canada. The general defence and security of the Province was also considered in the design of the settlements. Unfortunately what the policy did not consider were the strong feelings of the loyalists themselves. Nor did it take into account what actions should be taken should a group of loyalists decide to make some initial policy moves of their own.

A major characteristic of the official land policy at Niagara was that it would affect everyone to some extent. Anyone who desired to take up residence in Canada was forced to recognize it. Nevertheless, a recognition of the official policy did not mean that it was always obeyed. At Niagara, the status of the official policy was juxtaposed with the personal desires and ambitions of the settlers.

It was apparent that regardless of the intentions of the government in London, permanent loyalist settlement at Niagara had been determined by the spring of 1783. With regard to the settlement of loyalists overall, Haldimand seems to have endeavored to get London to modify its intentions of locating loyalist settlement at the Bay of Chaleur, Sorel, and points further east.[141] It is known that he mentioned the desires of loyalists to settle along the St. Lawrence, and at Cataraqui, but references to the embryonic settlement at Niagara do not appear. Exactly why this is so is not easily discovered. It may have been due to the fact that he still

strongly disapproved of permanent settlement at the upper posts. Or it may have been that he sought to draw attention to the desires of the numerical majority of loyalists, most of whom were located in the area of lower Lake Ontario and along the St. Lawrence. However, by late 1783 there was little Haldimand could have done to discourage further settlement at Niagara.

Because there had been a form of settlement at Niagara since 1780 the initial situation with regard to the institution of government land policy was subject to forces of local interests. The settlement at Niagara subjected government policy to its own variations. Unlike other areas, such as Sorel, where many loyalists had lived under the restrictions of refugee camps until the spring of 1784, an increasing number of families at Niagara had been able to gain a degree of independence by establishing themselves as farmers between 1780 and 1784. Despite the fact that they were supposedly under strict limitations regarding land tenure and agricultural markets, they were still able to determine how much land they could clear, what crops they would plant, subject to the type of seed they could get, as well as what type of improvements they could undertake on their holdings, with the possible exception of mill construction. Those who were able to settle as ' retired Rangers ' in this early period were also technically no longer under the military authority of John Butler, even though they still depended on the benefits of his position to aid in the survival of the settlement. It was the commanding officer of the garrison at Fort Niagara who was in a position to be the true authority in the wartime settlement since his permission determined where potential settlers could locate their farms.[142] He also determined the price of agricultural commodities sold to the garrison. In practise the commanding officers had little real interest in

the settlement beyond making general approvals of sites. Furthermore, unlike other loyalists in the refugee camps, the people at Niagara in general were not subject to the scrutiny of Haldimand's loyalist inspectors.[143] To infer that the settlers of Niagara were a wildly independent lot would be an exaggeration; however, they were not subject to the same degree of regulation as were other loyalists. Added to this was the fact that the remaining members of the Ranger corps (including Butler) had begun to establish themselves in early 1783 with the intention of making their presence permanent. These factors combined to create certain obstacles to the desires of the government concerning land policy.

There is little doubt that the members of Butler's Rangers who began to settle at Niagara had advantages with regard to their standing within government policy intentions. Unlike other loyalist groups, or even members of other Provincial corps, they had an opportunity, through the agricultural settlement at Niagara, to establish themselves with a reasonable degree of certainty before the British government had introduced a formal policy towards the loyalists. Because of the benevolent role which the British government undertook towards the loyalists in the immediate post-war period, there would be no reasonable way to uproot and relocate the additional settlement at Niagara (in the form of disbanded Rangers) in order to suit the Royal Proclamation of July, 1783. A great inducement may also have come from the fact that settlement was already existing there. It is known that Haldimand had ordered the destruction of houses built by loyalists at Mississquoi Bay, who had flouted his order forbidding settlement there since the area was so close to the American territory. Mississquoi had at that time no existing settlement, thus Haldimand's orders had less to do with persecution than an attempt to

avoid the possibility of hostilities developing between the loyalists and their American neighbors.[144] Thus it can be seen that to call the situation at Niagara a victory of the wishes of the people against policy would be stretching the reality of the circumstances. The chief goals of the policy towards the settlement of loyalists in Canada were to establish a place for the thousands of people who sought refuge in a British territory. To avoid complete chaos it is not surprising to find that the government would create a rather strict policy which emphasized order and control regarding where these people could settle and how they would receive their grants. This post-war policy towards settlement was imbued with a sense of correcting and eradicating aspects of American colonial policy which the British government had found troublesome. To this end they sought to ensure that the design of settlement in Canada would reinforce the preservation of British as opposed to American values in society. Nevertheless, how this policy was eventually expressed at Niagara did not necessarily reflect the original intent of its political authors.

It was obvious by the spring of 1784 that certain people at Niagara had gone beyond simply establishing themselves and had in fact moved more aggressively towards shaping the settlement opportunities available there. It has already been mentioned that surveys had been done for several farming families at Niagara in April of 1783. At that time there were twenty families present. Another return was made for April, 1784 which showed that the number of families now established (that is those who had constructed homes and had begun to farm) was now thirty-six, twenty of those being new.[145] Apparently four families listed on the 1783 return were not present a year later. However, it seems that the return of farmers was not a full account of the settlement which had been taking

place. In his letter to Mathews dated May 8, 1784 John Butler states that about eighty members of his corps had already " ... made a start [across from Fort Niagara]... expecting the Commander in Chief will permit them to enjoy their improvements... ".[146] He then adds that several officers, including himself had already begun improvements on land whose use they then found out was to be reserved for the crown. So as not to be disadvantaged, Butler suggested a solution.

> " ...should any part of these lots be hereafter wanted, a clause if agreeable might be made in a deed to that purpose, for my own part I have already been at a considerable expense and are daily adding, and mean to continue doing so till I have the pleasure of hearing from you... "

The solution seems typical of one who was familiar with the intricacies of land dealing, however it could not have pleased the governor since it seemed to defy present policy intentions in Canada. There is also some air of amiable pressure being put upon the British government's sense of obligation towards the loyalists at Niagara, as well as towards Butler himself. In addition, the fact that Butler had no intention of halting the development of his land meant that there was an extra impetus towards the acceptance of his plan by the government. There is some evidence to suggest that Butler and his four or five officers did get to keep the tracts upon which they had made their original improvements for a map of the township of Niagara dated 1791 shows a number of large irregularly shaped lots extending back from the shore of Lake Ontario and west of the land reserved for Navy Hall and public works.[147] It should be noted that such dubious activities were going on before the Rangers were

officially disbanded (which was in June) and before the official government surveys began.

From the actions of Butler and some of his officers it would appear that the desire to accumulate lands at Niagara was very strong. Yet it appears that a large number of the disbanded Rangers were slow in taking up the offer of settlement. Lieutenant Colonel De Peyster wrote to Haldimand on June 28th that there were less than 100 men from Butler's Rangers who, after having been disbanded, had listed their names as being willing to undertake the cultivation of lands at Niagara.[148] However he added that there was a great deal of dislike towards the official policy which directed lands to be held under the French Canadian seigneurial system. He also mentioned that many men sought to fetch their families from the United States as soon as possible. De Peyster's concern regarding the slowness of registration seems to have been a little premature. By July 20th, 1784 there were over 230 former Rangers who subscribed their names in order to settle across from Fort Niagara.[149] There is no doubt that the reasons for the initial slow registration which De Peyster mentioned had some effect. Yet, as the population gradually increased throughout the rest of 1784, and 1785, it would seem that those reasons did not contribute to a long term negative effect. The general point was that if the former Rangers objected to the land policy which was instituted at Niagara there was nowhere in Canada they could go to escape it (although several families attempted to avoid the more immediate frustrations by moving to Detroit).[150] Furthermore, attempts to return to their former homes could result in more hostility than most people were willing to risk.

A factor which proved to be much more troublesome to the new

settlers was a direct offshoot of the desire for order in the new settlements, namely the surveys. It was apparent that once the decision to remain at Niagara was made the hesitancy of the potential settlers to get on the land disappeared. It is not a surprising action since the prospect of agriculture, as a means to support a family, was the only immediate future for the majority of the Rangers. However, in their eagerness to get on to the land the people ran straight into the directives of the British land policy. Despite the fact that the government had showed a considerable amount of patience towards the requests of the people at Niagara as well as John Butler, the government had every intention of ensuring that the Crown remained in control of the distribution of land, and the pattern of settlement in Canada. What this meant was that no one would be allowed to claim any piece of land prior to its being officially surveyed. However, practical realities were not on the minds of the settlers at Niagara.

Accepting the premise that the survey was a necessary prerequisite for settlement was probably harder for the people at Niagara than elsewhere in Canada. For one thing the people at Niagara did not find townships laid out for them prior to their arrival in the area as was the case for the loyalists who were shipped from the camps at Sorel to the Cataraqui area.[151] Furthermore, as the townships were assigned to particular groups of loyalists, men from the same Provincial Corps were located together apparently quite often under their original officers. Although such arrangements did not prevent the inevitable shuffling of settlers (as those people vied for the best situation) it did create a degree of structure not found at Niagara. The history of settlement was also different at Niagara since there had been settlement at Niagara for

four years prior to the start of the official surveys. Those settlers had also, in the past, enjoyed some indulgences on the part of the wartime government. The slight air of independence which had been fostered over distance and the lack of strict supervision was not easily relinquished for a more restrictive policy. Furthermore, because some people had been claiming pieces of land throughout 1783 and early 1784, while others had not, meant that there was already a level of disadvantage for certain settlers which they no doubt wanted to overcome. The factor which contributed most to the general impatience and frustration of the settlers was that the start of surveying was delayed until June, 1785.

It has been mentioned previously that the earliest recorded surveys at Niagara were to have occurred in the spring of 1783. However these surveys seemed to have been independently undertaken at the request of John Butler for the farmers then present, and did not reflect any official government directive. The official surveys at Niagara were carried out by Philip R. Frey who, prior to becoming Deputy Surveyor for the Crown, had been a lieutenant in Butler's Rangers. There is little exaggeration in stating that surveying the district around Niagara was an exercise in patience for Mr. Frey. In September of 1787 he was able to submit his plans of the surveys for township number one and those of number two which had been completed.[152] It does not seem that he had accomplished much in two years until it is realized that he had apparently been undertaking the task without any assistants. He finally requested permission to hire some that September. It is also clear that his task had been made more difficult by the presence of the early surveys which he described as being " very erroneous ". He was at great pains to explain why he had not accomplished as much as had been expected of him. " ... from his Honour's expectations in

this respect I am indeed to entertain an opinion that he conceived much had been already done, before my appointment to this place." Ironically from Frey's point of view there had been little advantage to having surveying begin so early at Niagara. Frey, as deputy surveyor, was in the unenviable position of being the chief symbol of the government's land policy in the region and was subject to the expression of all the impatience of the populace. To remedy the slowness of the surveys, and to try and maintain some order in the settlement of land, he began in 1788 to survey the sections of the country where he found people " ... taking up lands and settling in a promiscuous manner...".[153] Frey's problems with the survey were minor as compared to those he experienced once people began to engage in a land policy of their own.

Considering that it was a time of re-establishment for the majority of the disbanded Rangers it is not surprising that the period between 1785 and 1791 was particularily complex with regard to land transactions. There were numerous smaller problems which caused people concern, however it is possible to emphasize two concerns which seemed to create a consensus amongst the settlers. The chief concern was over the issue of tenure. The second was the size of the individual grants of land allowed by the government.

The concern over the question of tenure was something which the people at Niagara shared with their fellow loyalists down the lakes. The question of tenure had appeared at Niagara almost as soon as Haldimand had agreed to allow agricultural settlement at the post. Despite Haldimand's strict orders regarding what the limited nature of agricultural settlement at the upper posts was to be like, the idea of establishing some sort of formal tenure was never eradicated from the minds of the settlers.[154] Once the

numbers of people settling in the area increased so did the number of voices in favour of establishing a tenure system more familiar to that of the former colonies. Despite the fact of earlier settlement there is nothing to suggest that the people at Niagara were any more fervent in their requests for freehold tenure than were other loyalists elsewhere. Perhaps the most eloquent expression of the loyalist sentiment towards the tenure situation was found in the 1785 petition drafted by Sir John Johnson, John Butler and other former leaders of the various Provincial corps. Even though the petition was drafted by some of the most influential men in Canada at that time it cannot be said to represent the aspirations of an elite as its requests concerning the securing of English tenure are reminiscent of those previously voiced at Niagara.[155] The second concern regarding the size of individual grants also inspired petitions, although it appeared that the issued concerned some people more than others.

There is very good reason to believe that at Niagara the desire to attain the same footing as the 84th regiment (with regards to the size of land grants) was something which concerned a smaller number of people than did the tenure question. A comparison between the land stipulations of the Royal Proclamation of 1783 directed towards the members of the Provincial corps as compared to those of the 84th regiment show that the greatest gain was to be made by those men above the rank of a non-commissioned officer. Thus there was no real advantage to be had for the vast majority of men settling at Niagara. Nevertheless, John Butler, and a number of his former officers put a considerable amount of effort into petitioning the governor for such a measure.[156] It is interesting to note which former officers undertook the effort. The names on the petition included Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, Captains Peter Ten Broeck and

Andrew Bradt, and Lieutenants Jacob and Thomas Ball. Each one of these men represented a family which had had some standing in pre-war New York. The Butler and Bradt families had both been considerable land-holders. The Ten Broeck's had been closely connected to the power structure in the Mohawk Valley by their associations with the Butler and Johnson families. Jacob Ball had been supposedly related to the Van Rensselaer family by marriage and had been a prosperous farmer in his own right.[157] There is a strong suggestion that these men believed that the attainment of the larger grants of land would enable them to begin to re-establish themselves in positions of significance. Even though the decision to bring the grants to the Provincial corps in line with those of the 84th regiment was approved in late 1788, this action did not seem to affect the general desire of people to accumulate land.

Land acquisition in the Niagara area increased greatly in 1788 and continued into the late 1790's. To call the actions of many of the settlers vigorous is almost a litotes. Furthermore the further accumulation of land was not restricted to any one particular ' class ' within the former Rangers. There were several reasons why the development of such enthusiastic transactions seemed to have accelerated in 1788, instead of earlier. First, surveys in the area had progressed enough to provide identifiable lots for individual settlers in the first two townships of Niagara and Stamford. In conjunction with this was the establishment of a local body designed to facilitate the more efficient and speedy processing of allocating lands to settlers. This body was the land board.

The land board for the newly created district of Nassau was established under orders from Lord Dorchester on December 29th, 1788. The first board assembled at Niagara in January, 1789.[158] The first

members included John Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, Robert Hamilton, Benjamin Pawling (a former lieutenant in the Rangers) and Nathaniel Petit. The board functioned in this form until the addition of five new members in 1791. The chief duty of the land board was to handle the examination of applicants and to ensure that they complied with the loyalty specifications required to receive lands in Canada. Upon doing this the land board was to furnish each successful applicant with an order indicating that the Deputy surveyor could then allocate the proper quantity of land to the person. On a general level the first members of the board represented the two major spheres of influence then present in the new settlement. John Butler, Peter Ten Broeck and Benjamin Pawling were all former officers in the Rangers. Robert Hamilton and Nathaniel Petit represented the mercantile interests which had been present since the British had established themselves in the region. The members of the Rangers represented the old colonial society of New York and Pennsylvania whereas Hamilton and Petit had most of their ties in Canada. Although the design of the land board prevented its positions from becoming a site of great political power, a position on the board still represented an honor, and it still provided an access to other related, though inferior positions. Thus the level of potential influence which a board member could gather made the position of some worth.

Throughout the period of its existence from 1789 until 1794 the land board records of attendance show that John Butler and Robert Hamilton were the most frequently present, followed by Peter Ten Broeck and the commanding officer of the garrison at Fort Niagara.[159] In light of this it would not be unreasonable to expect that the mutual influences of both Butler and Hamilton were substantial within that body. Despite the fact

that both men used the options available through their positions to engage in things like nepotism, other than this it does not appear that they abused their situation excessively. The report of Sir John Johnson which in 1780 recommended the addition of several members to the board mentioned cases of jealousy towards the constitution of the membership but no dissatisfaction with how things were being handled by the board.[160] A survey of the land board reports for the period between 1789 to 1793 does not present much excitement. In general, the duties undertaken by the board were very routine, covering concerns such as roads, confirmations of land allowances and surveys, as well as ensuring that all government decisions were carried out. It does not appear that the individual members ever used their positions to facilitate their own landholding aggrandizement. In reality because the board members were accountable to the governor and council, opportunities to further personal interests were limited. From all appearances membership in the land board was more of a symbolic duty than a means to accumulate local power. Nevertheless, despite the limits of individual power, as a body the Nassau land board was able to make one major contribution to land policy, which influenced not only the Niagara area, but was the basis for a decision by the governor which affected all loyalist settlements.

The most influential act undertaken by the land board was their interpretation of Lord Dorchester's instructions of June 2, 1787 which conferred an additional 200 acres on settlers who had already improved their lands. In their meeting on October 29, 1789 the land board of Nassau determined that the intention of " Lord Dorchester's Bounty " as it was known, was to distinguish their " Active friends and Adherents " and would apply to every loyalist who had borne arms or served the Crown in some

other capacity during the war and settled in Canada prior to 17 February, 1789.[161] In her book Land Policies of Upper Canada, Lillian Gates sites this interpetation as influencing Lord Dorchester's decision to create an additional mark of honor for the loyalists in the form of the U.E. designation to which the awarding of the 200 acre bounty became attached.[162] Unfortunately widespread misinterpretation of the clause, which determined that the children of loyalists should also qualify for the 200 acre bounty, complicated the intention of the designation and ended up costing the government over three million acres of land and over £ 75,000 in revenue. Of course the interpretation of the Nassau land board cannot really be blamed for the outcome of the governor's decision to make a special designation for the loyalists. It is interesting to note however that in the case of the original interpretation as well as the results of the U.E. designation the fundamental driving force appeared to have been the interests of the individual loyalist as opposed to those of the government.

For the members of Butler's Rangers who settled in the Niagara area behind all of the official policy was the reality of settlement. There was a considerable amount of practicality reflected in the pattern under which their settlement evolved. It appears that individual concerns took precedence over the less tangible aspect of ' loyalism '. In other words the beliefs and to some extent the common ideologies of the British system were accepted and desired by the majority of the people, but this did not mean that every expression of government policy in that system was followed blindly. This attitude was especially noticeable in the area of land acquisition.

The desire to subvert or simply ignore the aims of government land policy was not a purposeful denial of British authority on the part of most

people. It was an attempt to secure a form of living which was favorable to them. For certain people it appeared that this desire resulted in an attempt to regain what had been lost to them in the colonies, which of course led to some problems. Between 1788 and 1790 a chief concern of the people, which had the effect of keeping the process of land acquisition quite active, was simple dissatisfaction with the lands surveyed. In the early period when the pressure to get people situated was the greatest, lots were surveyed but not assigned to their recipients. Originally, in order to ensure some level of fairness with regard to who would receive the best sites there had been a plan for officers and men of the various Provincial corps being settled in the same area to draw for their lots.[163] It is known that in the lower settlements, such as those around Cataraqui and the Bay of Quinte in general, the proposal caused problems between officers and men, the former not often being willing to cooperate with the plan. Surprisingly this practise never seems to have appeared at Niagara for there is no mention of it in the deputy surveyor's reports or in those of the Nassau land board. There is also no record of any petitions being sent to the governor which mention any tension between the men of Butler's Rangers and their former officers over the issue. In reality the initial, though somewhat limited choice of lands in the Niagara area (due to the slow progress of the surveys) did not prevent the average settler from trying to attain the most favourable agricultural situation possible. As a result a period of extensive land shuffling began.

Up until June of 1789 it appears that the choice of situation was initially left up to the preference of the individual settler. The choice was supposedly limited by the extent of the surveys since no one was to claim unsurveyed lands. The government no doubt hoped that settlement would

flow into the surveyed areas and that each new area would fill up as it was surveyed. This did not happen quite as planned. In January of 1789 Philip Frey was ordered to provide the Surveyor General with a plan of the new townships which incorporated the name of each settler on the lot he claimed. In May, Frey wrote back declaring that the request could not be easily fulfilled since it was impossible for him to keep track of just who possessed which lot.[164] He also criticized the rather liberal way in which settlement in the district was progressing. Although he determined that the amount of surveyed land available was sufficient for the settlers present as well as those expected from the United States that summer he complained that

> " ...the people being allowed to roam about and choose situations in every respect suitable to them makes this settlement very much scattered and it would employ ten surveyors to follow them in order to lay down their lands and unless a speedy stop is put to this the half of the land surveyed will remain unoccupied..."

It was obvious that even though the people were anxious to begin to establish themselves they had definite preferences with regard to the quality of lands they took. Despite all attempts to avoid it, by the summer of 1789 there was considerable confusion with regard to possession of land around Niagara.

On June 20th, the Surveyor General sent a sharp letter to Philip Frey ordering him to explain his previous report, which seemed to infer that Frey was granting lands in the new settlement without legal authority. In his reply to the charges Frey explained that for the satisfaction of individual settlers, in the period prior to the institution of the district

land board, he had given people numbered tickets to indicate to them the number of their lots.[165] Unfortunately, some people had apparently determined that these tickets were a form of validated tenure. It seemed that the major achievement of the land policy at Niagara was to create chaos. At the first regular meeting of the Nassau land board on October 29, 1789 the problems which surrounded the granting of land in the district were summed up. The board determined that there were several problems arising out of what they termed the irregular mode of surveys which had occurred from the earliest days of the agricultural settlement. They also claimed that the practise of taking up lands before they were surveyed contributed to confusion. The board determined to resolve the problems by inserting the name of every landowner on a map of the township in which the lot was situated. Lots over which there were contradicting claims would be left blank until the disputes were settled. When the lots of a township were filled the plan would be kept open " ...for the satisfaction of every inhabitant; after which the Land Board shall proceed to grant certificates for the lots thus ascertained. "[166] In its decisions to use a township plan to disentangle the confusion, the land board resorted to following many of the directions from the Surveyor General's office which Philip Frey had been unable to institute himself. In all fairness, the problems cannot be all blamed on Frey. Unlike the land board he could not claim the government authority to direct settlement. Without that personal authority he could not hope to have controlled the actions of several hundred people. After two and a half years of frustration Frey had had enough and in the autumn of 1789 returned to the United States.

It might have been expected that by the decade of the 1790's there

would have been a slowing of land transactions as the settlers became more established in their new society. This was not the case. There were several aspects of the original settlement policy which dragged on until the end of the decade and sometimes beyond.

The exact influence of the Constitutional Act of 1791 upon the people around Niagara beyond its most obvious aspects, is difficult to measure. With regard to landholding, the institution of the freehold tenure system was no doubt pleasing to the people but whether this boosted the land activity in the area is not easily proven. For one thing, the actions of the settlers show that the people who settled in the Niagara area had not been dominated by the presence of a seigneurial form of land tenure. The effort to make settlement in the area compact and orderly had not been a success. Furthermore, there were aspects of the original land policies which had not been fulfilled prior to 1791. First, not every man had taken possession of all the land he was entitiled to under the revised government policy of 1788. This problem applied primarily to the officers who were supposed to receive several thousand acres, although it was apparent that it also applied to both non-commissioned officers as well as privates. As late as 1797 certain former members from Butler's Rangers were still applying for land as part of those original grants.[167] Secondly, it appeared that few individuals had bothered to secure the legal title to their land prior to 1791.[168] Even after this date such practises continued forcing the government to take firm action to induce people to obtain such title.[169] Thirdly, was the remnant effect of Lord Dorchester's bounty which was the cause of many petitions from former Rangers for additional lands in the 1790's. All these aspects were the result of policy decisions in the era before 1791. Another point to make with regard to the

Constitutional Act was that the sections dealing with Crown and Clergy reserves could not be applied to the first two townships surveyed for the settlers in the Niagara area since there was no allowance made for them in the original surveys.[170] This is not to belittle the importance of the Constitutional Act. It provided the basic framework for government in the new province of Upper Canada and as such there is no doubt that it provided a sense of security for the settlers by reinstating the basis of familiar laws and practises. However, it would appear that it had little immediate effect over the manner in which people acquired land in the Niagara area. As for encouraging the development of the Niagara area in the years after 1791, it would appear that it was due more to natural increase and immigration rather than any direct government policy.

The Niagara area underwent significant development during the decade of the 1790's. Under the Constitutional Act of 1791 the old district of Nassau, of which the Niagara settlement had been a part, was reorganized into the Home District and a system of counties were established. In its entirety the Home District included the five counties of York, Lincoln, Durham, Northumberland, and later Simcoe. The county in which the townships of the Niagara area were included was Lincoln. After the arrival of the new Lieutenant Governor, John Graves Simcoe, in 1792 the capital of the colony was established at the town of Niagara (now the present town of Niagara-on-the-Lake) and renamed Newark. However the townships around the new capital had also been developing. By 1792 most of the available land in the first three townships of Niagara (which included the town of Newark), Stamford, and Grantham was taken, although not all of it had been patented.[171] This did not mean that the acquisition of land had ended in these townships. From 1791 to 1800 it

appears that most of the grants which were made in these townships were not large. The average size for Niagara was approximately 226 acres, for Stamford approximately 271 acres and for Grantham approximately 396 acres.[172] It is easy to see that the older the township the smaller were the grants. However, the land acquisition was not only in the form of grants. The years between 1791 and 1800 were also a period of consolidation for many landholders. Just as settlers had often traded lots between themselves (much to the consternation of the deputy surveyor) in the early settlement period, after 1791 many continued to swap lots with their neighbors. Another practise between settlers seems to have been for an individual who wanted the land to take over the patent rights and costs from the original grantee. The purchasing of land did not become a common practise until almost the end of the decade primarily because of the shortage of money in the pioneer society. There was also the fact that a great amount of land was still available in other townships. Of course consolidation was not the only reason why people continued to engage in land transactions. There was also the desire to add to their personal holdings.

The belief that land equalled security and wealth was well expressed by the settlers in the Niagara area. Even though land did not present an immediate source of wealth in the 1790's (simply because there was so much uninhabited land available to settlers) there were numerous petitions sent to the governor and council.[173] The type of petition varied as did the petitioner. For the Niagara area there were petitions from groups as well as individuals. The size of the acreage requested also varied from a few acres to, at least in one case an entire township.[174] In the style of their petitions the people of the Niagara area were not

remarkably different from loyalists located elsewhere in Upper Canada. Requests for additional lands were supported by descriptions of wartime hardships and sufferings, the size of families, demonstrations of loyalty, as well as proof of progress in Canada. There were also those petitions which requested redressment of grievances as a result of the confusion caused by the several surveys which had occurred within the township of Niagara since 1783.[175] It was apparent that the rejection of one petition did not necessarily discourage people. The members of the Secord family in their numerous petitions for additional land, made use of almost every type of request available for loyalists.[176] Even when the government in 1796 refused to continue to cover the costs of surveys the desire for additional lands was not seriously affected.

The settlement which had grown up around Niagara was considerably different from that which had been originally intended under the government's original policy. Local variations found in the manner of settlement and in the desires of the people who settled in the Niagara area served to alter the expression of some of the British government's policies. Some of these alterations were only short term, others left a more lasting imprint on the area. In the immediate post-war period the circumstances which resulted in some variations were probably the greatest. Their influence seemed to lessen however as the Niagara area became more closely associated with other settled parts of Upper Canada. After 1791 many of the elements which in the past had influenced the development of settlement since 1780 gradually lessened as the area became subject to increased integration caused by the spread of settlement and the strengthening of the presence of government within the new colony of Upper Canada.

Chapter Four

Agriculture in the Niagara area in the period between 1780 and 1800 evolved from subsistence to surplus levels but did not change in its basic nature; it remained the economic basis for the people. This factor in itself was something which the people of the Niagara area shared with other loyalist settlements since agricultural success was the mandatory requirement for ensuring that settlement would remain in an area. However, because the agricultural settlement began earlier at Niagara than in other loyalist settlements in Canada it might have been expected that the farmers at Niagara would have developed an advantage. Nevertheless, the true extent of such a ' time advantage ' at Niagara had to be put into perspective with other factors which had a more direct effect upon the progress of agriculture in that region.

A factor which should be recognized regarding the first agricultural efforts undertaken in the Niagara area was that such efforts did not begin in a void. The Niagara area was not a virgin wilderness. In his directions to Colonel Bolton outlining the plans for the new settlement, Haldimand mentions the fact that some part of the land across from Fort Niagara was already cleared.[177] Since negotiations for that tract of land were carried on with the Mississaugas it is more than likely that it was members of that tribe who cleared that area. Although the purchase of land was made from the Mississaugas in 1780 (and again in 1783-1784) it is not apparent that many members of that particular tribe were undertaking agriculture in the immediate area in those periods.[178] Exactly how long the clearings had been vacant is difficult to determine since it is not mentioned what state the land was in, nor when the last native inhabitants had been present. The former native inhabitants were not the only ones who had made a mark. It is evident that much of the wood materials needed to

maintain Fort Niagara were taken from the immediate area. A return of the work done around Niagara by the Department of Engineers prior to the formation of the settlement show that over 6,000 feet of pine and oak board were sawed for platforms and floors and 580 pieces of lumber had been cut for bomb proofs.[179] Additional works included the positioning of 1,500 pickets and the construction of a twelve foot parapet. It is not unreasonable to think that amount of construction would have resulted in some additional clearing in the area. However, all the cleared land in the world would not have assisted anything had the area been unfit for agriculture.

Apparently there was little question of the possibility for agriculture around Niagara. Indian efforts as well as those of the French Canadian parish of l'Assumption at Detroit were proof that it could be undertaken. The central concern seemed to have been just how quickly an agricultural undertaking could be firmly established. The demands of wartime supply as well as those of peacetime resettlement resulted in a considerable amount of pressure from official sources for agricultural success in the Niagara area. To add to this pressure was the fact that agricultural settlement in the Niagara district did not have the leisure to expand gradually according to population demands as it had in colonial New York and Pennsylvania during most of the 18th century. In the Niagara area the settlement population went from nothing in 1779, to nearly 1,200 in 1783. Furthermore the fact that loyalist settlement, in what became Upper Canada, was primarily immediate and recent meant that there was no older established regions to which the people could return if their agricultural undertakings failed. For most of the loyalists the only choices would have been to return to the American colonies or

move to the areas of French settlement in old Quebec, neither of which were very favourable alternatives in the immediate post-war environment.

There seems to be two general views which may be assumed regarding the state of post-war agriculture in the Niagara area. First, that the exact status of agriculture at Niagara was similar to other loyalist settlements located down the lakes. Secondly, that because of the earlier agricultural settlement at Niagara, a reasonably good foundation had been established. Not surprisingly, neither is completely accurate. At first glance it appears that the Niagara area had a reasonably good agricultural base in the spring of 1784. There were thirty-six farmers whose acreage together amounted to over 600 cleared acres, approximately 348 of which had some type of crop on it.[180] In addition to crops there were counted 100 horses, eighty-four cows and young cattle, fifty-nine calves, and twenty-nine swine. Despite the appearance of health which these numbers reflect a comparison made between the number of acres cleared for those original farmers (settled in 1782) who were still present in 1784 has some interesting results. Although in general the number of acres increased (at varying rates), in three cases the acreage decreased. In the case of John Depue it was reduced from sixteen to twelve. For Philip Bender, his acreage was reduced from twelve to six acres and for Thomas McMicken from eight to six. All these men possessed what could be termed the middle size of farm in 1782. It is difficult to discover what the reasons for the decrease in the size of their holdings were although the fact that the quantity of livestock possessed by each man also declined seems to indicate an overall decline in the fortunes for these three men. In contrast the other farmers recorded moderate increases in their livestock from 1782 to 1784, although the major changes which had occurred in two years were not related solely to

quantity. It appears that all those farmers established since 1782, regardless of their apparent success, had begun to concentrate on cattle while decreasing the numbers of sheep and hogs they raised. The reasons for this may have been related to the preference of the garrison market, which happened to be the only legitimate economic outlet for the farmers in the Niagara area until the close of the war. The overall production of grain is equally difficult to calculate because a clear comparison for the number of bushels per acre produced between 1782 and 1784 is not available. There is a great problem with trying to compare the levels of production between the returns of 1782, 1783, and 1784 because the information regarding the number of acres sown and the number of bushels produced in each year is not recorded in the same way. Despite the large amount of land cleared and the considerable amount of livestock present it is clear that the settlers were by no means self sufficicent.

A relatively good means to discover the progress of the agricultural undertakings in the Niagara area is to examine the ration lists. Upon examining the number of the original farmers who were " victualed " in the period it is possible to estimate the degree of self sufficiency which was attained. There is some indication that John Butler's claims of agricultural success were slightly exaggerated. Out of the original sixteen farmers who had been present since 1782 there were seven who were still receiving rations in 1784.[181] Out of the remaining group there were six who did not receive any rations in 1784 (another three men who had been present in 1782 were not found on any of the records for 1784, one having died, the other two names simply not appearing on the ration lists). Of the thirty-six men listed on the return of settlers in April, 1784 there were twenty-four still receiving rations in 1786, seven of those being part of the original

farmers of 1782.[182] Thus it seems that despite the appearance of relative success, in reality many of those original farmers continued to rely on the benevolence of the British even after being settled for five years. However this reliance on the government may be qualified. Although the British administration could be thanked for its material contributions, the fact was that the physical work of farming was undertaken by the people not the government.

In 1784, the farmers at Niagara lost their somewhat unique position as agricultural settlers when the government began to facilitate the general settlement of loyalists in Canada. In the Niagara area the disbanding of Butler's Rangers, together with some members of the Indian Department, meant that the size of the agricultural community increased substantially. As part of the re-establishment of the loyalists the British administration had approved the delegation of supplies to both individuals and groups of families.[183] The amount of supplies, such as clothing, tents, and tools, was a cause for much dissatisfaction amongst loyalists, especially those in Michael Grasse's group of associated loyalists.[184] It appears that much of the policy for supplying the loyalists focused on those present in the area of Sorel. The question of whether the people at Niagara received the same allocation of goods as the loyalists at Sorel is difficult to determine since the wording in the original policy did not include any specific references made to the Niagara region. It is known that the people at Niagara were not left out of the government's supply policy because there are records of ration lists for the period up to 1786. However there is some suggestion that the people at Niagara felt that the distribution of supplies was, in their view, unequal. This sentiment was made known to Robert Mathews on his tour of the Niagara area in 1787. Simply stated, it was apparent that the people at

Niagara felt that they had received fewer supplies than had their fellow loyalists down the lake.[185] This may have been more than an expression of local dissatisfaction and may have had some truth to it. The British government had been furnishing the farmers at Niagara with millstones, leather, seed, tools as well as providing for the construction of mills in the area for almost four years previous to the establishment of peace. The government may have thought that in lieu of this fact, the people in the region did not require as many things as did other groups of loyalists. However, an important point to make is that most of the former Rangers who settled at Niagara did not establish themselves until after they were disbanded in 1784. They had not necessarily shared in the wartime benevolence of the British towards the agricultural settlement at Niagara. It is likely that the complaints regarding supplies would have arisen from these people as opposed to those who had been more or less settled since 1780.

It is obvious that the relatively tenuous success of the existing agricultural undertakings, combined with the fact that the majority of the population was new to the area meant that the Niagara area did not necessarily possess any great agricultural advantage over other new settlements in Canada. Because of the rather simple level of agricultural technology, the advantages given by time (relating specifically to the earlier establishment at Niagara) were usually made up by other farmers once their farms reached a certain level of development. As a young settlement Niagara had to contend with some interrelating factors. Because it had a weak agricultural base it also had a weak local economy.

The economy of the Niagara area was at its most straitened period between 1784 and 1790. There were several reasons for this. The most

obvious of these was that agricultural development was at a very low level. However, there was also the fact that the settlers in the area were, for the most part, former refugees from the old British colonies in America. In general these refugees had not been able to secure many resources to aid in their own maintenance.[186] Outside of the rations and supplies provided by the British government most people had nothing. There were also other problems which related to the general availability of money. During the war the men of the Rangers had been able to depend on their military pay to support themselves and their families (if they were situated close enough to be reached at regular intervals). At the conclusion of the conflict this source disappeared. It has been suggested that alternative forms of capital were available to various loyalists through things such as compensation for losses, and the existence of military half pay.[187] However, the true contribution which such sources made to the average loyalist was limited by two factors. First was the fact that most of the members of Butler's Rangers did not submit any claims for compensation, nor would the majority receive half pay benefits. Secondly was the fact that these types of benefits did not appear to become widely available until after 1787. John Butler complained to Robert Mathews in 1787 that neither he nor any of his officers had received any half pay yet.[188] In addition to this was the fact that the hearings for most of the men who had submitted claims for compensation did not occur until 1787 and 1788. Nevertheless, even though there was a specie shortage in the new settlement, commerce did not grind to a complete stop. Daniel Servos, a former Captain with Butler's Rangers, established a mill and general store in the area known as Palatine Hill in 1784. Account records kept for the operation give a general idea of what type of commercial transactions went

on in the earliest period of settlement.

As commercial documents the Servos mill records have their own rather unique flavour. In general the method of accounting is very unprofessional and, especially in the period before 1789, rather confusing. Nevertheless these accounts are able to give a general idea of what type of transactions were taking place in the area of Four Mile Creek which was located in the Township of Niagara. The first thing which is obvious is that not everyone in the Township of Niagara did business with him. A second observation is that up until about 1790, the majority of the accounts are for the services of the saw mill. That the saw mill should have been well used is not surprising in an era when so much clearing of land and general construction was going on. Unfortunately Mr. Servos did not elect to keep his saw mill accounts separate from the other purchases which his customers were making. Around 1787 the accounts show that some individuals had begun to purchase small quantities of grain, usually not more than one or two bushels for the entire year. There is no indication in the accounts as to what this grain was for. The most immediate suggestion is that the grain was being used for seed. However, such purchases also included bran which is not used for seeding, but may have been used as feed for livestock. Furthermore the time of year that the grain was purchased confuses the issue. Some purchases were made in the spring or early fall when crops like corn or wheat could have been planted, but many were also made in the middle of summer, and some in the winter. Had the grain been purchased in one particular time of the year it would have been easier to estimate its use. The grain may also have been used for food. Despite the fact that flour was available it was not widely purchased.

Besides showing the purchases made by various settlers, the Servos

accounts can also give an indication of their economic health. The various ways by which accounts were paid reflect some degree of monetary poverty. It was clear that the average settler tried to keep his account reasonably small so as to avoid an overwhelming debt. It would generally be expected that in a period when there is a shortage of money that most farmers would pay their debts in kind. In fact this was done in some instances. However, there was also a tendency by some individuals to let their debts ride for a period of time, which in some instances stretched into several years.[189] For some reason in late 1787 there seems to have been an slight increase in the number of individuals who were able to pay some of their smaller debts off in cash.[190] Exactly why this happened is difficult to discover. This ability to pay debts was not confined only to those men who had been former officers, so it does not seem that it was related to any belated half pay pensions from the government. Furthermore there does not seem to have been a corresponding increase in the amount of purchases made by these individuals so it does not appear that they received any great amount of money. It might have been thought that something like the sale of potash could have provided extra money however it appears that potash was not manufactured for sale in the area until after 1792.[191] Another characteristic of the Servos accounts is that there are very few which run for the year 1788. This is not surprising considering that this period was known as the ' Hungry Year'.

In the Niagara area it would appear more accurate to refer to the time of scarcity as the hungry years since the period of deprivation seems to have begun in 1788 and continued into 1789. Although this period is very well remembered in retrospect by the narratives of people who lived through the situation, there seems to have been little recognition or

acknowledgement of the severity of the problem by contemporary officials. To a large extent the conditions at Niagara were a result of some sort of overall agricultural failure. Of course there was always the suggestion that the problems were partially a result of inexperienced farmers who could not provide for their families. However in the case of the former members of Butler's Rangers, in the Niagara area, inexperience did not play as large a part as it might have in the lower settlements where fewer men had agricultural backgrounds. As mentioned in a previous chapter, a large number of men in the Ranger unit had come from agricultural backgrounds in the old American colonies. Rather than suffering from inexperience, the Niagara area seemed to have been hit with a number of negative climatological factors. It seems that in 1788 the Niagara area suffered from drought conditions, while in the summer of 1789 there were terrible hail storms and severe early frosts.[192] It was not a case of only one type of crop failing, everything including the usually dependable corn crop, was affected. The true tragedy of the situation was that it occurred when the young settlements could have least afforded it. Obviously, the most immediate effect was on the food supply. The progression of agriculture in the region had not reached the point where the production of surpluses were common. In many cases it had only been a short time since people had given up the government supplied rations upon which they had been living. The effect of the situation is well known. In many cases people were reduced to eating whatever they could find, from roots and berries to their own livestock.[193] Despite the fact that the few accounts available present a terrible picture, there is a suggestion that not everyone suffered terribly during the period. Anyone who had even a little money would have had an advantage of being able to buy supplies. At least initially grain and flour

would have been available through local merchants and mill owners.[194] It is certain that the Butler family did not suffer greatly during this period. It seems that the family of Adam Crysler would not have suffered much either. It is known that during 1788 Adam Crysler had the leisure and money to argue with Silas Secord and Solomon Quick over issues of land clearings. Adam paid £ 100 to Secord and £47 to Quick in order to end the problem.[195] Strangely there does not seem to be any cooperation between the people who had nothing and those who did. In fact, community efforts to alleviate the problems were seriously lacking. There were no local committees set up to handle problems of the distribution of emergency food stuffs, nor were any existing supplies confiscated and distributed. There is also no evidence that any of the men who had claimed (or would claim) community leadership, endeavoured to organize any local relief or petitioned the governor to send assistance. In fact the only type of official relief effort came from Lieutenant Colonel Peter Hunter, commander of the garrison at Fort Niagara. Apparently under his own authority he allowed the distribution of the garrison's own supplies to desperate farmers in the Niagara and Fort Erie areas.[196] The action was not one of complete charity for records of who received what and how much were kept and repayment was expected. In later years the attempts to force repayment were often fought by farmers who wished to avoid repayment if they could, or else sought easier terms by requesting that repayment be at a more " ...Moderate price than was Charged When [the supplies were] Lent.".[197]

In the long run the two successive years of poor harvests did not seriously deter the continuation of agriculture in the Niagara area. It was in the decade of the 1790's that agriculture became a more dependable way of life. In a sense the two years of deprivation were a boundary between the

early uncertainties of post-war settlement, and the options which became available with the creation of the province of Upper Canada. That is not to infer that the period after 1790 was without problems. What it does mean was that there was less uncertainty felt by the average settler about the prospects in Canada. The improved agricultural outlook just happened to coincide with the creation of Upper Canada. Unfortunately, there are no official records of the production levels for the settlements at this time as there had been during the war, so specific levels of improvements cannot be calculated. Not surprisingly the indications are that 1790 and 1791 were years of recovery. Even so it was apparent that the more favourable growing season which occurred in 1791 had already produced some good results. A report from the magistrates of the Niagara district to the new governor, John Graves Simcoe, in February, 1792 announced that the crops of the previous year had been more than abundant and they confidently stated that " ...peace and plenty promise to once more reside among us. ".[198] Other indications of the improvement in agriculture were made in the observations of Peter Campbell (formerly of the 42nd Highlanders) who was travelling through the Niagara area in 1791 and 1792. Besides mentioning the great fertility of the soil in the region he also remarked on the fact that " ...every vegetable common to temperate climes... " was capable of being grown successfully.[199] He also went on to mention the success of wheat cultivation as well as the ability of farmers to sow more than one crop in a field during one year. It appears that the agricultural recovery by the summer of 1792 was enough to cut into the fortunes of Kingston merchants who in previous years had been making a nice living supplying the garrison with extra flour during the period of severe shortages.[200] It appears that with the return of good harvests a degree of

enthusiasm with regards to the future of agriculture in the area arose. Bolstered by the support of Governor Simcoe, an Agricultural Society for the Niagara area was founded in 1792. That an agricultural society would have been founded in a settlement which was still primarily pioneer in flavour seems to have been slightly premature. However, although the membership of the society between 1792 and 1805 reflected several notable personages who did not necessarily come from an agricultural background, the body did not neccessarily reflect the air of a gentlemens club. The society did include several of the more successful farmers in the district as well as some of the larger landholders and some local merchants.[201] For very practical reasons all these men had an interest in ensuring the maintenance of successful agriculture in the district. The society also appeared to be much more than a forum for personal interests. Again with the aid of the governor, the society was able to provide an incentive of ten guineas for any methods to improve agriculture brought to the attention of the society.[202] Besides the creation of the society the people in the Niagara area also sought at this time to get permission to hold an agricultural fair around the town of Newark.[203] Exactly what effect both of these institutions had on agriculture in the district is difficult to measure, yet they do reflect some effort to promote the growth of something besides frontier agriculture.

There seemed to have been an element of truth to John Butler's early claim that members of his Ranger group were born farmers. An interesting aspect of agriculture in the Niagara area was that small attempts at agricultural variation soon appeared. Modern day local history in the area of Niagara-on-the-Lake is very fond of noting that the cultivation of fruit trees in that region had some very early roots with the attempts of certain loyalist farmers. The governor's wife Elizabeth Simcoe in her tours

throughout the Niagara area made a note of an attempt to grow peaches as early as 1795 (although she had very little hope for their success).[204] Roughly twenty three years later Robert Gourlay's statistical account of Upper Canada would show that in the Niagara area not only peaches, but apples, pears, nectarines, apricots, plums and cherries were being grown.[205]

Despite the measures taken to promote agriculture in the Niagara area the district was still subject to unfavourable years. In 1795 there was another crop failure, although it did not result in the same sort of crisis situation as had occurred in 1788 and 1789. However, the growth of the district was maintained on a more or less steady scale. From roughly 1795 on it was possible to find advertisements which offered farms for rent. There was also a trend towards an increase in the sale of farms in the older townships.[206] An enthusiastic article in the Upper Canada Gazette boasted that people could " ...look to the time [which] is not far distant, when our wilderness shall have been turned into well-cultivated fields... "[207] Despite such heralds, in general it appeared that as agriculture became a more stable undertaking it garnered less official attention, and became a normal way of life. After 1797 it is rather difficult to discover many specifics about agriculture in the Niagara area. The next good information does not occur until the record provided by Robert Gourlay's Statistical Account of Upper Canada taken in 1817 and 1818. A major reason for this seems to be a result of the decision to move the capital from Newark to York. This effectively removed the focus from the Niagara district to the area around York.

In its agricultural development it is clear that the Niagara area was under the influence of farmers and not frontiersmen. As in other loyalist settlements, agriculture was the single most important undertaking in the

Niagara settlement. Its success determined the basic existence of individuals as well as the future society. The success of agriculture was fundamental to the economy of the Niagara area, supporting additional growth in the settlement, which in turn inspired further development in the area. Without the presence of agriculture the development of a society in the region would have been impossible. Although agriculture had existed at Niagara several years earlier than it had in other areas of loyalist settlement, this fact did not in itself guarantee its success. Because of the relative simplicity of agricultural technology the earlier establishment at Niagara did not mean that the farmers acquired an advantage over other loyalist settlements, or even over their former comrades who settled later. This lack of real advancement, coupled with the weak economy in the settlement made the area susceptible to the traumas of crop failures and poor weather between 1788 and 1789. In the period after 1789 a more established society, in addition to improved climatological conditions, allowed agriculture to become slightly more dependable. That dependability in turn served to reinforce the prospects of the society in the Niagara area.

Chapter Five

One of the things which should be recognized about the society which formed in the Niagara area as a result of the arrival of the loyalist corps known as Butler's Rangers was that it was not, in the absolute sense, a pioneer one. Unlike the founders of the American colonies, these people were not arriving in a virgin environment where no precedents for societies had been set other than those of the native inhabitants. Unlike the experiences of the later pioneers in colonies like New York or Pensylvania, the loyalists coming to Canada were not migrating solely for the hope of better establishments. In moving into a territory dominated by the institutions of French Canada the people of Butler's Rangers arrived into a situation with which they had little familiarity. It was not simply a case of moving to a new British territory for the movement of the loyalists to Canada entailed the uprooting and re-establishment of a portion of the population of the American colonies. The society which formed in the Niagara area was a demonstration of how Canadian situations were changed by the influx of influences from the old American colonies. Niagara society was also an example of how the factors of the new situation would alter the old colonial assumptions regarding the accumulation of position and influence.

Probably the most obvious case of an alteration of position from pre-war colonial America to the post-war society of the Niagara area was that of John Butler whose family slipped from a former position of influence and power in colonial New York into near obscurity in Canada within two generations. The reasons for the decline of the Butler family fortunes has been attributed to an inability of John Butler to adapt his methods of attaining position and influence to the new situations which faced him in the Niagara area in the post war period.[208] However, the

failure of John Butler to maintain a position comparable to that which he held in pre-war New York is not solely a result of an inability to adapt. There were personal and official factors in addition to the effect of local circumstances which combined to confound his attempts to re-establish himself.

Re-establishment in the post-war period was made more difficult for John Butler because he had lost access to the pillars upon which his pre-war position had been based. He had lost his landholdings, and he had lost Sir William Johnson. The loss of Sir William Johnson may not seem so crucial since he had died before the American war began. However, he died in 1774, only one year before the troubles began. Because of the briefness of this interval it is difficult to assume just what the new status quo in Tryon county would have been had the war not intervened. It is known that there were considerable negative feelings towards Butler within the rest of the Johnson clan, but it may have been possible for Butler, because of his own personal holdings and influence within the Indian Department and in Tryon county, to hold his own against the clan. Unfortunately because Butler had lost this insulation, in the post-war era Butler was put into a position where he was again dependent upon the patronage of the Johnsons. However this time he had to deal with Sir William's son John. It may have appeared that John Butler still had the advantage of his connection with the Johnson clan, who in the immediate post-war period still maintained considerable prestige through their influence in the Indian Department. (With the exception of the period between 1775 and1779 when Guy Johnson was out of grace and the direction of the Indian Department had fallen to Butler at Niagara, the Johnsons maintained their grip on the position of Superintendent of the Department. Sir John Johnson

himself acquired the position in 1784 as a result of a supply scandal at Niagara in which Guy was implicated as a participant). In reality the connection was not as favourable as it had been when Sir William had been alive. Sir John Johnson, apparently did not value John Butler as much as had his father. It has been mentioned that in the pre-war period part of the wrath which John Butler incurred from individual members of the Johnson clan (such as Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus) was apparently because of the challenge he represented to what they perceived as their authority and position. There is some suggestion that Sir John Johnson also felt that John Butler was a challenge to the leadership and direction of the Indian Department which Johnson now claimed after 1784.[209] It is interesting to note that Sir John Johnson's prejudice towards Butler was never overt. Instead of openly criticizing the actions of Butler, Sir John chose to undermine his position in more subtle ways. Considering that Butler held the seniority in the Indian Department he could have been appointed as its superintendent. As previously noted Butler had lost the position twice to members of the Johnson family. First to Guy Johnson, who in 1779 returned to the position, but was brought down in 1782 over a scandal at Niagara which revealed that the merchant firm with whom Johnson was involved had been overcharging the government for supplies purchased for the garrison and Indian Department.[210] In light of this development Haldimand decided that the replacement would have to be a man of " ...Rank, Influence... and perfect Honour. " and settled on Sir John Johnson as his choice. Although Butler himself had not been involved in the scandal it appeared that as a man " ...deficient in Education and liberal Sentiments . " he did not fit into Haldimand's definition of a Superintendent.[211] It appears that as Superintendent Sir John never

attempted to extend his own influence in order to give political protection to Butler against hostile sources. It appears that Butler maintained his position as a deputy superintendent with some difficulty, having frequently to defend himself to the various governors against charges of improper conduct and inefficiency.[212] The subtle undermining by Sir John Johnson took on other forms as well. Neither Butler nor any of his family were ever included on any of the lists of recommendations for Governor Dorchester drawn up by Sir John for positions such as Executive and Legislative councilors.[213] Other recommendations by Sir John included proposing Alexander McKee as the person most suitable to run the Indian Department. Having been blocked from participating in the government power structure of the colony of Quebec, and later Upper Canada, Butler's area of influence dwindled to his beleaguered position within the Indian Department, and what local influence he could wield in the Niagara area. This constant undermining, coupled with his own declining health, must have made the period between 1784 and his death in 1796 very stressful for John Butler. Butler was attacked on another level as well, and not only from Sir John Johnson.

Besides the attacks on his professional conduct John Butler had to contend with the weight of social prejudice held by men such as John Johnson and his family, as well as governors such as Frederick Haldimand, Lord Dorchester, and John Simcoe. He even faced competition within the narrow bounds of the Niagara area from men such as Robert Hamilton. Although social prejudice may have seemed like a trivial reason to block the appointments of a potentially competent man, within the bounds of eighteenth century Canada it was still a very real consideration. The form which this prejudice took was quite similar. It was linked primarily to

Butler's social origins and what was frequently referred to as his lack of education.[214] It was obvious that Butler was literate so it is most likely that the ' education ' referred to was that received by a gentleman. The social prejudice which was shown toward Butler apparently made attitudes towards him difficult to pin down completely. In the cases of the various governors it was not a question of Butler being openly reviled. The governors may have agreed with the assessments of the Johnson family on his ' suitability ', but that did not prevent them from recognizing his contribution and ability within the Indian Department. Probably the governor who had the most varying view of Butler was Simcoe. Simcoe did not like the Indian Department. This dislike originated from a number of reasons relating to its organization and the seemingly excessive independence of its officials which he felt undermined his position as governor. Very often when Simcoe endeavoured to criticize the Indian Department and its officials to Lord Dorchester or the Colonial office in London he made generalizations towards its leadership which seemed to throw blame on Butler.[215] To add to the confusion, often in the same dispatches he would then commend Butler for his work. At least once however Simcoe had to clarify the language he used regarding Butler. In a dispatch to Dorchester Simcoe, after describing his respect for Butler's past record and present influence with the tribes, then stated that he felt Butler was incompetent in the direction of the " ample means " of the Indian Department.[216] He must have been questioned regarding this statement or else realized the possibility for misinterpretation because he later clarified his definition of incompetency to mean the poor state of Butler's health.[217]

Although it is certain that Butler was no saint, there is still an air of injustice towards the treatment which he received by many officials.

Despite the efforts he made through his position in the Indian Department, and during the Revolutionary war, he was not able to rise above the position of " servant " in the eyes of his superiors. It had taken him most of his life to attain the station he had in the Mohawk Valley before the war, and at its conclusion in 1784 at the age of 59 he had to begin again. In an overall sense his position was no different than any other older loyalist. However, the fact that he had lost so much more in terms of both material possessions and position, when compared to the average loyalist, may have made him more desperate to try and regain what he had achieved for himself in the pre-war period. It is these attempts to regain what he had lost which receive the most attention from those individuals who criticize John Butler. In order to understand part of the reason why he was unable to re-establish his family it is necessary to understand the forces which stood against him on the broad colonial sphere. It is equally important to examine why he could not succeed on a local level.

One of the factors as to why John Butler could not establish himself as the key authority at Niagara was that there was a great deal of competition for that position, coming from individuals such as Robert Hamilton, as well as from the British administration itself. Despite the fact that in the early post-war period the Niagara area was still dominated by its position as a frontier military post, the circumstances surrounding it were in no way similar to those which had existed in the Mohawk Valley when it too had been part of the frontier. With regard to Canada, the British administration seemed to show that it had every intention of maintaining the direction of all policy in the province of Quebec. The greatest example of this intention was found in the acquisition of land. In the colony of New York the rather lax enforcement of land regulations had

meant that members of the Indian Department such as William Johnson, John Butler, and George Croghan had been able to accumulate small empires often based on land which they had acquired directly through negotiations with various Indian tribes. The British administration had suffered a considerable loss of revenue as a result of such independent manipulations. For financial considerations, not to mention a desire to establish its own authority, it is not surprising that the government put a swift end to any independent land accumulation practises. What this did to Butler was to lock him into relying on the grants which came through official channels. It is known that Butler tried to get around the limitations of the government grant system by engaging in some form of independent land transactions in 1790 with a group known as the Niagara Company. Because the company apparently had interest in some lands in American territory in the area known as the Genesee, and because this interest caused some concern for the Indians in the area, the details of the transactions became known to Governor Dorchester. Butler's main role in the proceedings seemed to have been once again as a negotiator between the company and Indian tribes whose land was sought. Once news of the transactions became known rumors regarding Butler's participation flourished. Because the transactions took place in what was now American territory, there were also allegations concerning Butler's loyalty to the Crown, and questions raised regarding his intentions to stay in Canada. There is proof that Butler did in fact participate in the transaction. What is less easily discovered was the intention behind the deal. All of those people who fueled speculation about the situation (some of it in the form of heresay) failed to provide an explanation. Given a chance to defend himself by Governor Dorchester's request for an investigation, Butler

attempted to explain the complicated proceedings. According to Butler the Niagara Company purchase was made after the repudiation of a 999 year lease which had been made by some younger members of the Six Nations with an American company known as Livingston and Associates.[218] To ensure the approval of the Indians a council was called and attended by Butler, Brant, and a number of British officers from Niagara. An agreement for the sale of the lands to members of the Niagara Company was signed. After this Butler's explanation gets a little confusing. Apparently he had been left (for whatever reason) a tract of some 20,000 acres by a chief who had died while Butler was in England in 1786. Since no accommodation for this tract had been made in the agreement with the Indians, Butler was to receive it out of the lands granted to the Niagara Company. Butler's own plan for the tract was apparently to enable him to bring out and settle some friends from the state of Connecticut.[219] Within the whole affair there was nothing to suggest that there was any intent to injure the position of the British in North America. Butler himself steadfastly rejected any notion that he had any intention of returning to the United States. Although there was nothing which was strictly illegal about the dealing, there was a strong sense of impropriety and a potential conflict of interest. Probably the most serious charges against Butler concern the apparent compromising of his loyalty and duty to the Crown. In its nature the dealing was similar to the kind of land acqusitions which had occurred in western New York in the colonial period. There is no doubt that Butler was unwise to have become involved in the undertaking. A clue as to why he became involved may be found in the timing of the transaction. It should be noted that Butler's role in the affair did not occur until after he returned from England in 1786. He had gone to England to argue the case for his

loyalist claims, but had returned apparently without much success. It is known that Butler was greatly disappointed with the return on his claims which the British government would allow.[220] This economic disappointment may have been part of the reason why Butler became involved in the affairs of the Niagara Company. Despite the tension which his involvement with the Niagara Company caused, the effect of the undertaking is difficult to measure. On the surface it does not seem to have resulted in much damage. Butler remained in his position as Deputy Superintendent until his death in 1796. In addition, his reputation amongst the Indian tribes does not seem to have been injured. On a personal level it seems not to have had made much difference to his position in Niagara society. Its greatest effect was probably to cause Butler embarrassment in the eyes of his superiors, and perhaps served to make him more careful about mixing his official position directly with his personal enterprises in future.

Ironically John Butler's greatest weakness in the post war years came from the fact that his personal fortunes and his professional life were so closely intertwined. It has been shown that the career options which were left to John Butler in the years after 1784 were not promising because of the animosities which were arranged against him. Added to this was the ever diminishing independence of the Indian Department as the British colonial government sought to exert its control in its remaining territory in Canada. It may have appeared that Butler relied too much on the old methods which had existed in colonial New York, but in a very real sense these were all that he had to work with. Having been effectively frozen out of any significant role in the new status quo of power in Quebec by the subtle movements of the Johnson family, Butler could not move up and therefore had to, so to speak, move sideways to find new roads to

influence.

It has been mentioned previously that the death of Sir William Johnson left John Butler in a difficult position with regard to the Johnson family. It also meant that his chief patron was gone. The major effect of this was to create a ceiling for Butler's ambitions. Although he was not completely cut off from those officials in higher office, their attitudes towards him did not neccessarily incline them to offer any aid to his ambitions. At the personal level this meant that any patronage that would be lavished on his family would have to be provided by John Butler himself. It also meant that any thing that he could provide for his family and relations would have to be limited to the area where he had some ability to exercise some influence, essentially the Indian Department, and in certain civil positions in the Niagara area. It is interesting to note that no other members of John Butler's family attempted to establish relations in fields other than what had been traditionally open to them. The future success of the Butler family was almost completely dependent upon John Butler's position and were thus subject to the fluctuations in the fortunes of one individual. Butler himself had hinted at the limited nature of his ability to gain positions for his sons as early as 1784 when he stated to Robert Mathews that he could not recommend them " ...anything better than the Plough... ".[221] During the war Butler seems to have generated some dissension amongst his men by continually pushing promotions for his two sons Thomas and Andrew who were in the corps. Although the action was not conducive to group harmony, it did reflect the actions of someone trying to insure the post-war position of his family (something which was not atypical in the eighteenth century). Butler himself had been involved in wars previously and was well acquainted with what was

possible in the outcomes. There is little doubt that he felt that it was in the best interests of his family if his sons could come out of the conflict as officers. Although the positions of Butler's sons (both were lieutenants) entitled them to military land grants, it did little to install them above any other member of the Rangers. In the years after 1784 Butler continued to try and secure for his sons, nephews, and sons-in-law whatever patronage positions he could control. His son Andrew had an association for a few years with the merchant Samuel Street whose joint firm (through Butler's own Indian Department patronage) supplied various goods to the Indians and local populace. Although the firm apparently prospered for a few years, in 1790 it was charged with selling goods containing the King's seal (which meant that they were from the stocks of the Indian Department).[222] After this episode the partnership seemed to have soured and closed its doors around 1793. The partnership was dissolved in January, 1797.[223] Another member of the Butler clan, a nephew, Walter Butler Sheehan held positions with the Indian Department as a clerk and storekeeper at Niagara as well as that of interpreter. Although he remained as an interpreter for some time he was replaced in his position as storekeeper in 1795 because he could not explain the " ...defalcation of stores." which were occurring at his post.[224] In addition to these positions within the Indian Department Sheehan also maintained the position as Sheriff of the district of Nassau (which became the Home district with the creation of Upper Canada) between 1791 to 1793.[225] Other members of the Butler clan were to be found scattered throughout other positions in the Niagara area. In every case the holding of a position was paralleled by John Butler's position in a higher office capable of dispensing patronage. Both Thomas and Andrew Butler were officers in the militia for Lincoln county.

Their father John was the Colonel of the militia as well as being Lieutenant of the County for a number of years. In 1790 Andrew Butler was appointed as one of the commissioners of the roads when his father was on the Land Board for the Nassau district.[226] Even the Bradt family seemed to have benefited to some extent through a connection to John Butler. In 1793 while John Butler had the position of Chief Warden on the Town Council of Newark, his brother-in-law Arent Bradt had the position of Collector as well as that of Poundkeeper. It is interesting to note that none of Butler's immediate family or in-laws ever achieved the same level in local position as did John Butler himself. In some ways the weaknesses in Butler's position within the local society of the Niagara area seemed to have been a result of his own family's unremarkable showing when installed in various positions. The fact that his son Andrew and his nephew Walter were involved in dealings which cast some shadow on their integrity did little to enhance the reputation of the Butler family overall. It is often inferred that the scandals involving his relations, as well as John Butler's own land scheme were serious enough to ruin his reputation and result in the prevention of any access to additional influence from higher sources. However, it should be emphasized that all of these events occurred in 1790 (his nephew's scandal occurred in 1795). That these incidents damaged Butler's reputation is not being contested, but it should be pointed out that Butler's fortunes were in a decline prior to 1790. That fact must be taken into account when weighing the overall effect of those incidents upon Butler's fortunes. Further weaknesses for Butler were a result of the limited nature of power in the Niagara area.

The reality of power in the Niagara area was not what was available on the local level, but how that local influence could be used as a spring-

board to power at the provincial level. In Butler's case that jump to the level of provincial power had been restricted so in fact he really had nowhere to go. Had he gained a siginificant amount of local power he may have been able to, in time, push his way into those upper levels. The problem was that Butler could never gain the necessary amount of undisputed local influence.

For John Butler the pursuit of local influence was not only hampered by elements of personal prejudice directed from higher levels or the unremarkable results of his own patronage. It was also due to the image which other members of Niagara society held towards him. Probably the most important views were held by members of his former Rangers. The relationship between John Butler, his family and his former Rangers is rather interesting. Despite some of the internal difficulties which the corps had experienced during the war, at the conclusion of the conflict there was no overall rejection of John Butler. Butler appeared to have maintained a residue of respectability which allowed him to be accepted in positions such as a member of the land board, a Justice of the Peace, a local magistrate, as well as a member for the Town Council for Newark. His name continued to appear on almost every significant petition sent from the Niagara area between 1784 and 1796. What is also interesting is that John Butler remained in his positions as magistrate and Justice of the Peace during and after the period (roughly 1786-1787) when some of his fellow officers in other loyalist settlements had been removed from similar offices because of public dissatisfaction with the manner in which they conducted themselves. It is also interesting to note that the report compiled by those individuals sent by Dorchester to investigate the petitions and complaints did not mention any such dissatisfaction coming specifically from the

Niagara area.[227] It is doubtful that the magistrates at Niagara could have muzzled an entire populace so the fact that such dissension did not explode in the Niagara area is rather curious. A reason for this may well have been due to the fact that the authority and direction of society at Niagara did not just rest with John Butler or the former members of his officer corps.

Since the Ranger corps had never been the sole authority in the Niagara area it is not surprising to find that their members would not constitute the sole authority in the society which arose after 1784. The existence of other areas of influence was another reason why John Butler was not able to establish himself as the chief personage in Niagara society. The presence of the garrison at Fort Niagara continued to ensure that the military maintained a degree of influence over things such as defense, as well as continuing to provide a market for local flour. The participation of the garrison in providing a market for flour (which was supposed to be a product of surplus grain grown in the area) was a result of an agreement which was proposed by Robert Hamilton in 1786 who gained a five percent commission from the enterprise.[228] In its eagerness to promote the growth of the Niagara settlement it appears that the government provisioning agents offered very generous terms. However, exactly what the arrangement meant to the pioneer farmers of the area is up to question since records show that many settlers were still on the loyalist ration lists until 1786. This factor, combined with the effects of the episode of the hungry years cannot have meant that many farmers were necessarily producing a lot of surplus grain in the Niagara area until at least 1791. Richard Cartwright in 1792 supports this by his letter to Simcoe which stated that large amounts of flour had in previous years been sent from Kingston to Niagara for the use of the garrison.[229] This seems to indicate

that the bulk of the garrison's flour was being supplied for a number of years by Hamilton's associate Richard Cartwright from sources located in the lower loyalist settlements, and not from around the Niagara area. In addition to providing a market the military also had a major impact upon mercantile trade in the area.

The ability of a firm to capture a government supply contract for the garrison as well as the Indian Department meant a potentially lucrative future for any merchant group operating in the Niagara area. During the war there had been considerable competition between various firms to secure a monopoly over the available government contracts, and for a period a firm run by Edward Pollard (with the help of John Butler) had maintained a monopoly with apparently profitable results.[230] That John Butler should have been involved with the operation is not so surprising when it is considered that various associations of members of the Indian Department with Indian traders was not uncommon on the frontier of the American colonies.[231] Unfortunately for Butler, his ability to control the contract for supplying the Indian Department was ended with the reappearance of Guy Johnson who, as Superintendent of the Indian Department, replaced Butler's firm with one of his own choosing in 1779. When Johnson's fortunes crashed in 1784 due to events previously described, a commercial vacuum was created which was soon succeeded to by ambitious entrepreneurs such as Robert Hamilton.[232]

It is not surprising to find that at a quick glance John Butler's efforts to regain his pre-war influence does not compare well with the success of Robert Hamilton. Hamilton's advantages were not found solely in his own economic successes for there were personal advantages which he had over John Butler. First and foremost was Hamilton's ability to move beyond the

confines of local power and cultivate influence at the provincial level. Of course Hamilton's own economic success was the material root of his influence. However this influence was assisted by other factors. Hamilton was also assisted by his social advantages, his age, and the scope of his economic undertakings. Without going into great detail it is possible to emphasize how these factors assisted him to move ahead of Butler in the race for social prominence.

Even before his own economic success as a merchant at Niagara, Hamilton had some personal advantages over Butler. Born in 1753, Hamilton was nearly thirty years younger than John Butler. In the circumstances of any established society Hamilton's relative youth could have been a disadvantage. However in Niagara, where the conditions resulted in everybody having to start over to some extent, Hamilton's age was an advantage. Furthermore, in the post-war period John Butler's own declining health had begun to affect his ability to continue to remain vigorous in his personal and professional affairs.[233] Hamilton's social background apparently contained much more genteel elements than did Butler's. Notable connections of Hamilton's family could be found in the British army, the East India Company and the Presbyterian church.[234] This respectable background combined with a sound education (which apparently included some years at university) meant that Hamilton possessed the requirements of a gentleman. Such requirements served Hamilton well in Niagara society. For one thing it enabled him to appeal to the social prejudices of the garrison officers at Niagara, thus gaining their commercial support and social approval.[235] Finally there were his connections. As a member of the merchant class he was able to make use of both the old pre 1776 mercantile connections in Montreal, as well as those

of the new loyalists such as Richard Cartwright. Unlike John Butler, whose connections were designed for the conditions of pre-war New York, Robert Hamilton aligned his connections to encompass the political and economic conditions in Canada. Through his connections to Montreal merchants he was linked to a communications network which stretched from London to various forts throughout British North America. Through Montreal he also had the ability to make use of the political weight of the trading companies in both Canada and Britain to further his own particular interests.[236] It was also through his merchant connections with the army and fur trade that Hamilton became known to the government at Quebec. In the recommendations for political office (in which the government was heavily reliant upon these groups) it is not surprising that Hamilton as well as other merchants, were recommended over a group of relatively unknown loyalists.[237] Furthermore even though Hamilton was not a loyalist he benefited through association.[238] Finally there was another area in which Hamilton had an advantage over John Butler. It is not unreasonable to think that by running his own business enterprises Hamilton would have more free time to pursue the cultivation of personal interests than did John Butler who was still technically working for a wage in the Indian Department. It is also likely that as a merchant Hamilton would possess more free time than did the average farmers of the Niagara area. Thus it is not so strange to find Hamilton undertaking a wide variety of offices, and usually having the best record of attendance for them.[239] Furthermore, Hamilton also garnered all of the same benefits from those offices as did Butler. For example, by his position on the local land board, as well as that of magistrate and Justice of the Peace, Hamilton benefited from the link between land and respectability. In December, 1788 Hamilton received a

total of 700 acres, by order from Lord Dorchester, just for belonging to the land board.[240] There is no equivalent record of John Butler receiving such a grant as a result of his participation in the same office, likely because it was felt that his loyalist grant was sufficient.

It is clear that John Butler's position in Niagara society was not assured in the post-war era. The presence of Robert Hamilton served to further undermine Butler's already weak position. However, Niagara society did not run solely on the machinations of two families. John Butler was not the only member of the Rangers who sought position as a means of achieving his own ambitions.

The chief characteristic of Niagara society in the post-war period was that it very quickly became a society of individuals rather than the remnants of a military group. This fact may have been due to the nature of the military organization of the Rangers themselves. Since the Rangers did not engage in offensive and defensive operations as a single unit the fact that there seemed to have been less group cohesion is not really surprising. Another factor affecting group cohesion was that the Rangers were in very close association with members of the Indian Department, so much so that it is often very difficult to distinguish to which particular group an individual really belonged. A third factor may have been the combined result of the way in which the unit was organized, and the semi-independent nature of the various operations undertaken by the various companies. Because the methods used by Butler's Rangers meant that the corps was never used as a single unit (as a regular regiment would have been used in the field) it would not be unreasonable to think that the men would be accustomed to the authority of their individual Captains, but not necessarily be familiar with that of other officers or for that matter with

Butler himself. Because Butler was not present on the campaigns of each company there is little doubt that personal loyalties of individual soldiers would tend to rest more with the officers with whom they were more familiar. In addition because the Ranger unit was not subject to the regulation which was found in the ' formal ' regiments there appears to have been a smaller degree of personal discipline enacted.[241] A further factor may have been the high turnover of personnel, especially at the lower levels, due to things such as casualties or deaths.[242] Although such things may appear to have little to do with the designs of civilian societies, in the case of the society at Niagara they are very important. These all provide indicators other than the simple dislike of John Butler as to why Niagara society did not seem to follow the patterns of other loyalist settlements where in the immediate post war era the officers seemed to have had a lot of influence.[243] In fact, the disintegration of the military nature of Butler's Rangers began even before the corps was officially disbanded in 1784. It must be remembered that various members of the Rangers had begun to take up land as early as 1783, adding their presence to those farmers already established at Niagara. It appears that once out of the field, military designations had very little practical influence. There is no evidence that members of the officer corps (with the possible exception of John Butler) attempted to maintain their authority over their men after they had been disbanded. Survey maps show that settlement did not take place according to either company membership, or under a particular officer as it did in units such as the Loyal Rangers or Johnson's two battalions.[244] As explained in a previous chapter, personal interest seemed to have been the prime motivator behind where people chose to establish themselves as townships were not reserved for particular groups

as they were at Cataraqui.[245] From all appearances it seems that the members of Butler's Rangers slipped back into the role of civilians rather easily. Besides the undertaking of agriculture, which had been the pre-war occupation of the majority of the former Rangers, certain individuals were able to establish mills and small mercantile concerns. Roughly nine mills were constructed in the area of the first five townships prior to 1792.[246] Another interesting aspect of these activities was that every level of rank was represented.

It is an interesting factor of settlement in the Niagara area that the former Rangers did not divide themselves up into particular ethnic and religious groups as did some of the loyalist corps which settled around Cataraqui.[247] In this respect the people at Niagara seemed to better reflect the heterogenous nature of the old colonies of New York and Pennsylvania. It appears that this same sense of individual interest which affected the manner in which these people settled also influenced the political nature of the society in the Niagara area. The first thing which must be emphasized is that the term political is used in a general sense, referring to office holding, and not to the existence of any ' party ' or partisan ideology. There is no indication that the notion of political pary ideology, equivalent to the Tory and Reformers of a later generation, existed at Niagara prior to 1800. Yet, even recognizing this fact it appears that a form of political apathy existed, at least between 1784 and 1788. However this image can be clarified a bit by the recognition of the fact that for most people, survival apparently took precedence over everything else. It can also be explained by the fact that during this early period the formal framework of a society, namely the existence of various political offices, had not been established yet. Prior to 1784, the direction of local affairs had been the prerogative of

the commanding officer of the garrison, with the assistance of John Butler. With the disbanding of the Rangers, this formal authority ended and the settlement was left, more or less, in a political void, with the exception of the now informal direction which could be supplied by John Butler's correspondence with the governor. In the period between 1785 and 1788, there was no local authority in the Niagara area outside of that held by the deputy surveyor, who represented the only immediate form of civil policy in the area. The first formal political framework for the Niagara area appeared in 1788 with the creation of the district of Nassau by Lord Dorchester. It was in the period roughly between 1788 and 1794 that an assortment of official and community positions were created. Official positions were found in areas like the land board, in the court system which was organized, in the Town Council, and to a lesser extent in the Provincial government of Upper Canada which was located in Newark from 1792 to 1795. Community positions became available through the organization of things such as the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, militia, Masons, as well as an Agricultural Society. One thing which becomes apparent when compiling a list of the men who held office prior to 1800 is that many of the same individuals seem to have been involved in several different areas.

When examining the names of those who held office in the Niagara area between 1788 and 1800 it is obvious that certain individuals, or in some cases families, seemed to appear repeatedly. Examples of surnames which frequently appeared included Ball, Ten Broeck, Pawling, Clench, Servos, Vrooman as well as others. Despite this there is no indication that these people constituted an elite of some sort. On the contrary, because there was no real pattern to the type of office holding the chase for

position seems to have been instigated by individual decision rather than under the direction of some local oligarchy. Furthermore there did not appear to be any sort of specific requirements for holding office. The types of men holding office varied from former officers down to the level of private. The type of office sought varied as did the length of tenure. Certain individuals seemed to have restricted their office holding to one particular area, whether at district or municipal level. Some stayed for only one term, others remained for several. The general variation in the pattern of office holding seems to support the charge that the officers in the Niagara area could not achieve a control over the office holding in the district. The great question is, in view of the obvious variations, did the officer class really want to control the dispensation of offices? Furthermore, is it accurate to infer that the former officers would necessarily look upon themselves as a ' class '? There is no doubt that John Butler sought to gain personal support by advocating the placement of some of his former officers on the land board as well as in positions as magistrates and Justices of the Peace. The two officers who were appointed along with Butler to these positions were Peter Ten Broeck and Benjamin Pawling. Ten Broeck seems to have had some connection to the power structure in the Mohawk Valley prior to the war, and was, along with John Butler, a Justice of the Peace.[248] He was also listed as being one of the principle freeholders in the Mohawk Valley.[249] Thus it appears that the presence of Ten Broeck was not merely an attempt to reinforce the position of the former officers, but to help re-establish the position of the old elite of the Mohawk Valley (this seems to be supported by Ten Broeck's own record of attendance at the land board meetings which was usually the third highest after Hamilton and Butler). The reason why Benjamin Pawling was appointed is less easy to discover. There does

not seem to be any pre-war connection to Butler; however, because he was appointed not only to the land board, but also as a magistrate, there might have been some sort of relationship established during the war years. Outside of these two men (and Butler's own relations) the connections of John Butler to the actual appointment of his former men seems vague.

An element which is seldom considered when looking at the accumulation of office at Niagara is the weight of political apathy and how it affected who was in power. It is a difficult thing to measure. Nevertheless, it is not without some legitimacy, especially in an area where the majority of inhabitants were farmers who did not necessarily have a great deal of time to spend on office seeking or the duties therein. Besides the time factor there was also a suggestion that some element of financial well being was necessary to seeking office in the first place. Examples of a reasonable amount of financial security can be found in the Ball, Crysler, Secord, and Servos families who each had several members represented in various positions.[250] Individual examples may be also found in men such as Ralph Clench, Adam Vrooman, and Elijah Phelps.[251] It is interesting to note that the positions which showed the greatest variation in the number of people who held them were located in the town council of Newark. In general the various positions did not seem to require a great amount of time and effort spent on their behalf which was probably one of the reasons why more men would be willing to undertake them. Another consideration was the fact that candidates to the positions seem to have been elected at the preference of the people.[252] The expression of democracy cannot be given complete credit for the high turnover however, because very often changes in offices only entailed a man moving to a different position within the council.

In the Niagara society the holding of position did not limit itself to those found in an official capacity of either law or government. Other areas where position could be had was within the officership of the local militia, or as a member of some committee for either a church or the local masons. It must be admitted that the status available through such positions was not an alternative to that available through those which were more politically oriented. Instead such positions seemed to function to enhance a reputation rather than add to authority. In these positions as in other areas there was some duplication of membership, and most often the same people who held political positions also dominated these as well. It is not surprising to find John Butler linked to the militia, and the masons (he was both the Master of the lodge at Niagara in 1792 as well as the Senior Grand Warden in 1795) as well as being one of the prime motivators behind the permanent establishment of the Anglican church in the Niagara area. It seems that he wished to ensure his reputation by covering all the religious bases in the area for his family also supported the Presbyterian church when one was finally established in the Niagara area in 1794.[253] It is not surprising to find that Robert Hamilton was also involved in most of these. However these two were not the only individuals to recognize the benefits of such membership. One former Ranger who stands out somewhat from the rest of the office holders of the period is Ralph Clench. This former lieutenant in the Rangers is worth some note simply because he seems to exemplify the manner by which an average man could climb to a position of some stature in Niagara society.

In his background Clench did not seem to possess anything out of the ordinary. In a return of officers present in the Rangers he is listed as the son of a farmer. Yet, he did manage to possess some advantages. There is

some suggestion that his background included a decent education which may have assisted his progress in the Niagara area after the war.[254] He did not appear to have been a particular favourite to John Butler (considering that he submitted some evidence against Butler's involvement with the Niagara company) and there is no evidence of Butler extending any offers of assistance to him. He eventually did marry one of the grand-daughters of Sir William Johnson which probably provided some advantages for him. The method through which Clench gradually gained position was by taking on a considerable number of minor offices. It seems that Clench held almost every position as clerk or secretary which was available within the associations, committees, and offices in the Niagara area. It appears that it was through the positions as clerk or secretary that Clench was able to cultivate some contacts. Prior to 1792 Clench does not seem to have held office. It may have been that that he, like many was too busy trying to establish himself to bother to seek office. One of his earliest positions in 1792 was as secretary for the newly formed masons, which also happened to have the membership of most of the men of some importance in the Niagara area. In 1793 he became Town Clerk for Newark (a position he held until 1807), and the following year he is listed as holding the position of Adjutant in the local militia group, in addition to his rank of Captain.[255] He was promoted to the rank of major of the militia later that same year. In 1794 he also became the clerk for the committee seeking to establish a Presbyterian church at Niagara. In 1795 he became Chief Warden for the town of Newark, a position which had been held first by John Butler. In the period between 1796 and 1800 he held the positions of Junior Grand Warden for the masons, clerk of the sessions for the Justices of the Peace, an assessor for the town of Niagara (formerly Newark), the

first librarian for Niagara, and a member of the Assembly for Lincoln county. There was a definite improvement in the type of positions in which Clench involved himself. Furthermore, the wide variety of positions which he held probably gave him a wider social scope than if he had confined himself to one particular area. It should be noticed that Clench never held what could be termed an obvious position of authority, such as in the land board or as a magistrate or Justice of the Peace. Through his own methods Clench was more successful than the Butler family had been. Now it must be admitted that the advantages first mentioned probably assisted Clench by making sure that he was not a complete stranger to the powers that be. However that fact did not rocket him up into a position of great significance immediately. Since his advancement seems to have moved through stages it does not seem that Clench was ' taken under the wing ' by either Butler or Hamilton. Furthermore it seems that since many of the positions he held were in fact elected meant that he must have had to cultivate his own popularity amongst his neighbors to some extent. By his own success Ralph Clench gave an indication that authority in the Niagara area did not have to be ' inherited ' from the old colonies.

Although the race for position was not under the direction of an elite, it did ironically appear to have contributed to the creation of what could be termed a polite society at Niagara. As previously stated the people who settled in the Niagara area did not come with the vestiges of their old colonial society completely intact, yet in some ways the New York model of a landed elite who dabbled in office holding reasserted itself at Niagara. The major difference to the old colonial model was that because almost everybody had access to land, the holding of office took on greater significance. Before development gave an economic advantage to the larger

landholder, the actual possession of land did little to enhance the social status of an individual. Nevertheless not everyone who gained a position of some sort could claim to have been part of this polite society. There is some evidence to suggest that the possession of some degree of social grace and decorum was another pre-requisite. There was a definite pattern of association which existed within Niagara society which was demonstrated with the visit of any dignitary or individual of some standing. For example the diary of P. Campbell who traveled through the Niagara area in 1791 and 1792 gives an indication of the type of schedule of introductions to which he, as a visiting gentleman, was subject. The people he met included Robert Hamilton, Colin McNabb, Robert Kerr, Joseph Brant, Ralph Clench, John Young, John Butler and his two sons Andrew and Johnson, Peter Ten Broeck, in addition to several of the most substantial merchants at Niagara.[256] The list includes nearly every family of note in the Niagara area. A record of similar social associations can be found for the period of the residence of the Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe and his wife Elizabeth.[257] It is interesting to note that the personal dislikes or rivalries which may have existed between these people did not prevent them from engaging in social functions together.

Although it might be expected that social amusements might have been in short supply in the Niagara area such shortages did not seem to have existed. Detailed breakdowns of who would engage in the various activities would depend upon factors from the availability of certain equipment to the simple luxury of time. Certain things such as dinner parties seemed to have been the prerogative of polite society; however, there were many activities such as hunting, fishing, dances, and sleigh rides which were widely enjoyed by the whole of society.[258] It is

interesting to note that the local garrison seems to have had some effect on how the society conducted some of its activities. The officers of the garrison were described as giving " a tone " to society by their presence at local activities such as balls, hunting parties, or even celebrations of the King's birthday. Besides these activities the Niagara area also had some literary pursuits available by the 1790's. The Upper Canada Gazette began publishing in 1793 at Newark. Other papers such as the Constellation and the Niagara Herald also existed for a short time between 1799 and 1801. The Upper Canada Gazette is especially interesting as it gives an indication of the tenor of society in the Niagara area during the period when Newark was the capital of Upper Canada.

The society reflected by the Upper Canada Gazette between the years of 1793 and 1797 was one of increasing growth. That the number of commercial transactions in the area was increasing is reflected by the up-swing in the number of advertisements which were present in the paper. Other factors are also indicated. It appears that readers of the Gazette would have been reasonably well informed regarding both government proclamations as well as international news. Stories included came from a variety of European capitals and as far away as Constantinople. In fact these international stories and government news dominated most of the content of the paper for about the first year and a half. It appears that local news was difficult to find in the early years. Besides these aspects the paper also provided indications of what the local attitudes were towards the important social issues such as loyalty and religion.

Although the issue of loyalty in the society of post-war Niagara was complicated it is still possible to make some generalizations about it. Rather than being expressed through some overall doctrine or dogma, loyalty

seemed to be made known most often through the expression of the attitudes of the people towards various subjects. Throughout the early period expressions of loyalty in Niagara society were quite open. Support for the local militia was substantial, and celebrations for the display of any Royal symbol were warmly received, the greatest examples being the King's birthday and on the occasion of the visit of Prince Edward in 1791 and of the arrival of Governor Simcoe in 1792.[259] However loyalty was not the blind acceptance of every aspect of British rule. The people in the Niagara area may have accepted all the symbols of Royalty happily, but they did not accept every policy issued by the British crown or government with equal enthusiasm. The first loyalists at Niagara had no problem with the relationship of loyalty and the ability to disagree with the policies of the government, especially when it directly affected what they felt was their own best interests. The reactions of the loyalists towards the issues of land tenure, and the general system of law which the government subjected them to under its own schemes for settlement are prime examples. The subversion of the intent of policy, especially with regards to landholding, was also not necessarily measured as a sign of disloyalty. Thus despite the differences of opinion which the residents of the Niagara area had had with the previous policies of the British government, the people of Niagara could still declare their loyalty to the governor in 1794 stating that " ... we can neither possess nor transmit to our children, any Boon more valuable to us, or more useful to them. "[260] On the personal side it appears that loyalty did not always equate to an absolute hatred of the American people. There seems to have been an ability on the part of some individuals to separate the affection they had for family which remained in the new United States from a general dislike of things American. A letter

dated November 5, 1794 between Bernard Frey, a former Captain in the Rangers, and his brother, the former chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, contains warm wishes to the remaining members of his family as well as to some neighbors (who also happened to be former members of the Committee for Safety).[261] Of course not all post-war relations were as friendly.

In the period prior to 1791, loyalty at Niagara seemed to have been simply identified by the fact that an individual had taken up arms in support of the British government. After 1791 it seems to have acquired an element of ideology as it became attached to other factors within society. By the 1790's it was clear that to certain individuals, membership in the Anglican Church was being considered as a defense against the encroachment of American influence.[262] In contrast to this opinion was the state of religion at Niagara. Despite the expressions of certain officials, the state of religion at Niagara developed with a considerable degree of practicality.

Niagara was no different than any other loyalist settlement in that religion was recognized as having a definite place in the society. In the period before 1800 the presence of religion itself had more importance than the actual sect. In light of the later religious tension which would occur in Upper Canada the fact that the first clergyman to establish a permanent parish in the Niagara area was an Anglican minister Robert Addison, is of some interest. The reason why the Anglican sect came to provide the first permanent clergyman in the area was not due to any machinations on the part of some elite, but it was a result of the presence of Butler's Rangers. Prior to 1792 the religious needs of settlers and Indians in the Niagara area were apparently served by the Anglican missionary John Stuart. John

Stuart had also been the missionary who in previous years had served the people of the Mohawk Valley, especially in the area of Fort Hunter. This naturally meant that a number of this former congregation, one of whom was John Butler, were present at Niagara. His previous familiarity with many of the people who settled at Niagara, in addition to the requests from leading citizens such as John Butler and Robert Hamilton, led Stuart to begin a subtle lobby to his own missionary group, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in order to obtain a minister for the region.[263] The fact that it had been promised that a substantial subscription would be raised to support a minister at Niagara may also have helped to induce the Society to send Robert Addison to Niagara in 1792. The fact that the first missionary in the area was to be Anglican was somewhat ironic considering the fact that the majority of the populace at Niagara was not Anglican. However, it appeared that some degree of tolerance existed amongst the population for there are no records of any objections to attending the services of an Anglican minister.

Upon his arrival at Niagara in July of 1792 Addison quickly found out that the desire to have a clergyman present seemed to outweigh any sectarian preferences. As the only clergyman in the area the weight of all religious rites fell upon him. Records for the parish of St. Mark's (which was the Anglican parish at Niagara) show that for the first two years of his residence Addison was kept very busy. Although there were a number of wedding ceremonies and funerals performed, by far the greatest demand was for baptisms.[264] Besides indicating the health of the parish the records of St. Mark's also provide an indication of the health of the community at Niagara. Since Addison was the only minister in the area it is also probable that his records regarding the numbers of weddings,

baptisms, and funerals were relatively accurate. The number of funerals which were performed between 1792 and 1795 totaled 37. This compares with the number of weddings, which totalled 53, and the number of baptisms which totaled 240. Despite the fact that some of the weddings were really remarriages (formalizing a wedding which may have been conducted by the local garrison commander) and that a number of the children baptized may have been several years old (since no clergymen had been at Niagara since approximately 1788) there is still an indication that settlement was growing.

Even though the settlement around Niagara was showing signs of increasing, the Anglican Church in the area did not necessarily mirror that steady growth. There were a series of weaknesses which the Anglican church and its minister at Niagara were subject to in the period before 1800. First was the fact that the economic health of the parish of St. Mark's was directly connected to the generosity of its members. The original promise of an annual subscription of £ 100 for Addison never quite materialized, despite assurances, from men such as John Butler, that it would. This did not make the life Robert Addison very easy. In fact Addison put a great deal of effort into trying to secure whatever economic boon he could from a variety of sources. Although he received little financial support from his missionary society, he was lucky in that Governor Simcoe had a preference towards the Anglican church and allowed Addison some remittances for performing duties for the government, such as being the official pastor for the Councils, Assembly, and local garrison.[265] In 1795 most of these sources disappeared when the government moved from Newark to York. Considering that the Anglican congregation had problems providing for their own minister it is not

surprising that there was no church building furnished for Anglican services in the town of Newark (later renamed Niagara) until 1810. It might be thought that the fact that there was no building for Anglican services may have affected the health of the congregation. That fact is very difficult to measure. The church records of rites performed do show that there were periods of fluctuation in the demand for services throughout the years from 1792 to 1800. What is particularily noticeable is the drop between 1794, where the total number of weddings, baptisms, and funerals performed numbered approximately 105, and 1795 where that total dropped to fifty five. The following year the total dropped again to twenty seven. The first assumption might be that the arrival in 1794 of John Dunn, a minister for the Presbyterian church, might have reduced the numbers of Addison's congregation therefore reducing the demand for services. The Presbyterians in the area had organized a building fund for themselves in 1794 and apparently had some form of church constructed within a few years. By 1796 they were already renting pews in that church.[266] However, the number of services performed by Addison began to increase again slowly in 1797 and continued to do so until after 1800 when they appeared to have leveled off. Addison himself does not make any mention of sectarian competition until 1803 when he notes that his congregation has decreased somewhat due to the arrival of the Presbyterian minister John Young who replaced Dunn who had left in 1797.[267]

Because they were the first two churches in the Niagara area, there was an interesting relationship between the Anglican and Presbyterian sects. There is no record of any mutual hostility on the part of the two churches, or objections to each others presence. What is equally interesting is that the two churches did not have steadfast congregations. It was

apparent that people had no hesitation about attending services or accepting the rites of either church.[268] A notable example is that John Butler, who had helped establish the Anglican church at Niagara (Addison noted him as his patron) and was also known to have had a pew in the Presbyterian church of St. Andrew. The choice of which service to attend did not seem to have had any specific connection to maintaining a social image, or being a part of the local polite society (as it would during the era of the Family Compact). It seemed simply to be a matter of personal preference and not bound to any requirements of loyalty. Of course the religious preferences of the population at Niagara were not limited solely to these two sects.

In the period before 1800 the presence of Methodists provided an additional option for those seeking a choice of religion. The history of Methodism in the Niagara area during the early period is difficult to examine generally because the sect was supported by the efforts of travelling ministers and did not centre around a church as such. Methodism seems to have arrived along with the first settlers. The first Methodist meeting was supposed to have taken place in 1788 at the home of Christian Warner who was a former sergeant in the Rangers.[269] It is known that there were some very vocal objections to the ministries of what were usually termed " itinerant Methodists " or " Fanatik teachers ". What is most notable about such objections is that they seem to be found primarily within the government correspondence of Governor Simcoe.[270] Within the society of Niagara itself, Methodism does not appear to have been a considerable force prior to 1800.

It is known that Governor Simcoe felt that the proper religious instruction (ideally under the Anglican Church) had a direct influence

upon the maintenance of loyalty. Education was another area where he felt such reinforcement of loyalty could be assured. Surprisingly the growth of education in the Niagara area was a relatively slow process. There does not appear to have been any schools in the Niagara area prior to 1796, although there is some suggestion that a school may have existed at the local garrison sometime around 1787.[271] Although schooling was usually under the auspices of some church the fact that the Anglican church suffered from economic stringency, and the Presbyterian church did not have a minister between 1797 and 1802 seems to have contributed to the lack of schools before 1796. As early as 1787 there had been a petition from the western loyalists which among many things requested that the inhabitants be allowed government assistance to enable them to establish some schools in several settlements among which Niagara was included.[272] Strangely enough the petition does not appear to contain any names from the Niagara area. The greatest advocacy for the need for schooling in the Niagara district did not appear to come from the individual settlers, but from Governor Simcoe. Because the government was located in the Niagara area Simcoe was well aware of the local conditions regarding the absence of a school. In 1792 Simcoe advocated that the British government establish an annual grant for education of £ 1000 to provide for buildings and salaries needed at Niagara and Cataraqui.[273] He also advocated the creation of a university at the capital. It seems that the British government found such plans too extensive to be undertaken. Instead, it appears that it was under the efforts of private individuals that the first schools came into being in the Niagara area. Of the early schools very little is known beyond their names. In 1799 only three schools were listed as existing at Niagara.[274] Of the two which were operated by laymen, one, operated by a Mr. R. Cockrel

seemed to have been some sort of a night school. The third school was a boarding school which was run by a churchman named Arthur. All three were private, fees for attendance being paid by the parents. Sometime in 1798 W.D. Smith of Niagara made the offer of a house along with a four acre endowment for the creation of a free grammar school.[275] The offer was rejected by Governor Hunter since he felt that the location of the property put the future school right in between the guns of Fort Niagara and Fort George. It was somewhat ironical that a society which made provisions for the construction of a masonic lodge, and would support the existence of an agricultural society would not have established a grammar school at an earlier date. The development of better educational opportunities in the Niagara area would not occur until after 1800.

The society which evolved at Niagara was a combination of pre-war and post-war influences. Within the period between 1784 and 1800 there was a great deal of social jostling as individuals and families manoeuvred to re-establish themselves. Although the struggle for position did not involve everybody in the new settlements its participants had a definite effect upon the manner in which the society developed. It was this new struggle for position which contributed to the rearrangement of the social power, removing much of it from some of its pre-war holders. John Butler was one of the most noticeable victims of this re-arrangement of influence. Yet, personal gain was not the only factor which determined the manner in which society developed. Social attitudes did not all concern position. In their attitudes towards both the issue of loyalty as well as that of religion the people of the Niagara area showed a considerable amount of practicality. The period between 1784 and 1800 is unique in that there existed no overt social ideologies regarding both religion and loyalty which

would influence English Canadian society after 1812. Certain generalized elements usually identified with loyalist societies were present, such as the demonstration of loyalty to the crown, as well as certain suspicions towards the Americans. But these were part of more complex attitudes and not separate ideologies.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the character of the settlement founded by the members of Butler's Rangers in the Niagara area between 1780 and 1800. To that end there has been attempts made to draw comparisons between the pre-war societies of colonial New York and Pennsylvania in order to provide suggestions as to the origins of particular traits found in the later society founded in Canada. It seems clear that the emphasis on land (how it was held as well as how it was obtained) in these colonies was carried over into the new society. That land was so important to people whose primary economic well being had and would be based on agriculture is not surprising. Yet it was not only the attainment of land which concerned people but that the tenure of that land be secured to them in a fashion found in the old colonies. This never varied whether the landholder had 200 or 2,000 acres. In these sentiments the Rangers at Niagara did not seem to differ remarkably from other loyalists at Cataraqui or the Bay of Quinte. Other factors bear recognition as well. Settlement at Niagara was dominated by neither government policy nor by the desires of the local populace. It was a combination of these two major centres of interest which influenced the character of the settlement at Niagara. That such was the case is not surprising since such a set of circumstances were generally present in other loyalist settlements. However, the extent to which local interests and influences of the settlers received recognition was a factor which contibuted to vary the character of the Niagara settlement from those found elsewhere in what became Upper Canada. It is obvious that particular interests dominated the atmosphere of the Niagara area during the period prior to 1800. Of fundamental importance was the stubborn desire of various members of Butler's Rangers to establish themselves in the Niagara area. In contrast to these desires were the

designs of the government policy itself. Settlements at Niagara had to contend with the direction of both military and civilian policy as expressed by the British administration in Canada. The expression of this policy had several effects. As discussed in chapter two, the policy of the British government resulted in the existence of a tri-part system of authority which included the governor, the commanding officer of the Niagara garrison, as well as John Butler. The fact that such a system came into being is a strong suggestion as to why local interests were able to be so well expressed at Niagara. Unlike other areas of loyalist settlement, Niagara never felt the weight of government interference in the direction of early settlement. Government reporting on the condition of the settlement was carried out, for better or worse, by John Butler. This factor was particularily important since Butler's own interests seemed to have been directed by the conditions at Niagara prior to 1784 rather than by the intention of British policy. The lack of direct representation by the government administration, outside of the presence of the garrison, also contributed to the character of the settlement of the land in the area. As it was carried out, the settlement of land at Niagara lacked a pre-established structure. Unlike the settlement around Cataraqui, the settlers who established themselves at Niagara did not arrive to find the land already surveyed with townships laid out. The fact that the Rangers were present in the area upon disbanding meant that there was an immediate need for surveys simply so the men could settle their families somewhere. The chaos which existed in the area of land claims and grants between 1785 and 1789 was a result of the confused state of authority which occurred as a result of the nullification of the legitimacy of the military authority previously exercised by the garrison commander as well as John Butler, the

new centre of authority becoming the strict domain of the government at Quebec. However, with the exception of the presence of the deputy surveyor, it was not really until after 1788 that direct government authority appeared in the form of entities such as the Nassau land board. It was in the period between 1784 and 1790 that particular local interests, which included immediate concerns such as establishment and survival, came most noticeably into direct conflict with the intentions of British policy at Niagara. In some ways the period between 1784 and 1791 was an era of transition as well. It was a period when expectations were tried and in some cases disappointed. It was in this period that John Butler was effectively prevented from attaining the level of social and political influence which he had hoped for in Canada. While it is true that Butler failed to gain the post-war success that he desired, it is also true that weaknesses which were related to his lack of powerful political and social connections, had removed any potential foundations of influence prior to the series of questionable activities which colored his reputation in the 1790's. With the establishment of Upper Canada in 1791, the focus of local interests broadened to include the social aspirations of certain inhabitants. It was during the period of the 1790's that the structure of the society was laid out in areas which ranged from the creation of local government (and its inherent office holding) to the establishments of churches and schools. It might have been thought that it would be during this period that the precedents of the old colonial societies were to be most strongly expressed. Yet it appears that even in the social sphere old precedent was tempered with the new dictates of British policy as well as the influence of local circumstances. There was also a degree of tolerance and practicality which seemed to have been present in Niagara society. That is not to infer that

this era was some sort of golden age for the society was not without conflicts. Yet it appears that the focus of many such conflicts were on practical and immediate matters of establishment, or more accurately, re-establishment rather than the furies of partisan politics or social oligarchy which would plague the later societies of Upper Canada.

Footnotes

Abbreviations: P.A.O., Provincial Archives of Ontario.
Br. Mus., British Museum.
N.H.R.C., Niagara Historical Resource Centre, Niagara-on-the-Lake Public Library.
O.H.S., Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records

1. See Francis W. Halsey, The Old New York Frontier (New York, Scribners Sons. 1901), I: pp. 218-220, 241-251; Max W. Reid, The Mohawk Valley (New York, G. Putnam & Sons, 1902), pp. 214, 221-222.

2. See E. A. Cruikshank, The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement at Niagara (Welland, Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1893); William Kirby, Annals of Niagara (Niagara Falls, Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1896); William Canniff, The Settlement of Upper Canada (Toronto, Dudley & Burns, 1869).

3. Mary Beacock Fryer, King's Men (Toronto, Dundurn Press Ltd., 1980), 131. Fryer declares that the date was around 1711. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, II. Cruikshank estimates that date around 1709.

4. C. Lorne Butler, " John Butler, Mason ", Loyalist Vignettes and Sketches, ed. Arthur Bousfield (Toronto, Governor Simcoe Branch, United Empire Loyalists Association, 1984), 48; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, II; Reid, 212.

5. " Governor Burnet to the Duke of Newcastle, June 2, 1726 ", Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, Weed Parsons & Co., 1855), 5:715 and n.1.

6. Reid, 212.

7. " Governor Montgomerie to the Duke of Newcastle, May 6, 1728 ", New York Colonial Documents, 5:855.

8. See Bruce G. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton (Ottawa, Carleton University, 1983), 14.

9. Reid, 212; See also " Map of the Head Waters of the Susquehanna and Delaware, Embracing the Early Patents on the Mohawk River ", by Simon DeWitt, Surveyor General for the State of New York, 1790, in Halsey, backcover fold out. (Appendix I).

10. Ruth L. Higgins, Expansion in New York (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1931), pp. 29-31.

11. " John Butler ", Loyalist Claims-Evidence, 1785, New York, P.A.O., Microfilm, MS 708, 12: 121, RL. .083. John Butler claimed that his father received 1,714 6/7 acres plus additional lands in a tract which was located across from Fort Hunter, in the area of present day Fonda New York.

12. C. Lorne Butler, " John Butler, Mason ", Bousfield, 48.

13. Robert S. Allen, The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830, Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Paper, number 14, in Archaeology and History, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada (Ottawa, 1975), 11.

14. " Deposition of Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, October 27, 1787 ", Records of Niagara 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, 1929), 40:28.

15. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 11.

16. See " Map of the Head Waters of the Susquehanna ", Halsey. Patents shown indicate that no other grants were taken by Walter Butler after 1739.

17. " Deposition of Lieutenant Colonel John Bulter, October 27, 1787 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, pp. 27-29.

18. Ibid. pp. 28-29.

19. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 11. Cruikshank states the year of John Butler's birth as 1725.

20. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 11.

21. Ibid., 12.

22. " Deposition of Lieutenant Colonel John Butler. October 27, 1787 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 30.

23. " List of Judges and Justices for the Mohawk Valley, May, 1762 ", The Papers of Sir William Johnson, ed. James Sullivan (Albany, University of New York, 1921), 3: pp. 750-751; " Lists of the Justices of the Peace recommended by William Johnson, December 22, 1769 ", William Johnson Papers, ed. James Sullivan (Albany, University of New York, 1957), 12: pp. 768-769; op. cit. " Lists of Justices for Albany County, February, 1770 ", 12: pp. 783-784.

24. Ross Butler and C. Lorne Butler, " Colonel John Butler ", Bousfield, 47.

25. " List of the Justices of the Peace for Albany County, December 22, 1769 ", William Johnson Papers, 12: pp. 768-769, 783-784.

26. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 12.

27. " Hugh Wallace to William Johnson, December 3, 1772 ", William Johnson Papers, ed. James Sullivan (Albany, University of New York, 1933), 8:651.

28. " Lieutenant Governor Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth, June 3, 1775 ", New York Colonial Documents, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, Weed, Parson & Co., 1920), 8:579. Although no mention of representatives are given in the governor's report Patricia Bonomi states in Appendix C of her book A Factious People (New York, Columbia University, 1971) that Tryon had two representatives in 1773.

29. " The Last Will and Testament of Sir William Johnson, January 27, 1774 ", William Johnson Papers, 12: pp. 1062-1076.

30. See Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1920), pp. 80-81; Ruth L. Higgins, Expansion in New York (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1931); James Truslow Adams, Provincial Society 1690-1763: A History of American Life (New York, Macmillan, 1928), 3:111.

31. Higgins, pp. 86-94.

32. Ibid., pp.78-79. Grants totalling 16,00 acres or more were not uncommon.

33. " Deposition of Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, October 27, 1787 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A.Cruikshank, pp. 26-27. The number of such transactions shown in this document indicate that Butler was frequently in this position.

34. See Ruth L. Higgins, Expansion in New York; James Truslow Adams, Provincial Society; Frederick Jackson Turner, Frontier in America.

35. Higgins, 94. George Croghan appears to have begun to make use of this practise in 1768.

36. Ibid., 94.

37. Ross Butler and C. Lorne Butler, " Colonel John Butler ", Bousfield, 47.

38. " John Butler " Loyalist Claims, 1785, New York. Butler's claim shows a total of approximately 9, 478 acres.

39. " Memorial of Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, October 27, 1787 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 24.

40. " The Memorial of Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, September 5, 1791 ", Records of Niagara 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, 1930), 41: pp. 131-132.

41. Eugene Fingernut, " Uses and Abuses of the American Loyalist Claims: A Critique of Quantitative Analysis ", William and Mary Quarterly, 35 (April, 1968), 251.

42. See " Map of the State of New York showing the Locations of the Original Land Grant Patents and Purchases ", by Joseph Bion, 1895, in Higgins, inside front cover. (Appendix I)

43. See " John Butler ", Loyalist Claims, 1785, New York.

44. " The Last Will and Testement of Sir William Johnson ", William Johnson Papers, 12: 1075, n.28.

45. " John Stuart to Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia, July 6, 1788 ", Kingston Before the War of 1812, ed. Richard A. Preston (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1959), 3: 137. This report seems to indicate that John Butler was a part of the Anglican congregation at Fort Hunter.

46. Reid, 220.

47. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, pp. 12-13: Fryer, pp. 133, 143; Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 14.

48. Elmore G. Reamore, The Trail of the Black Walnut (London, McClellan & Stewart, 1957), 14.

49. Higgins, 72; Halsey, 94.

50. Higgins, 57.

51. Reid, 220.

52. " John Coons, Claim Number 359 ", Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, - Enquiry into the Losses and Services in Consequence of their Loyalty, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, (Toronto, L.K. Cameron, 1905) Microfiche, 20:984. This appears to be a typical example of the lease arrangments between John Butler and his tenants.

53. Information on the backgrounds of the members of Butler's Rangers was gathered from a variety of sources which included: Loyalist Claims 1764-1790, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives; John Crysler, A History of that Branch of the Crysler Family who Settled in the Township of Niagara (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Advance, 1936); Joan Magee, Loyalist Mosaic (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1984); Marion Field Belanger, " The Field Family-Early Ontario Settlers ", Families, ed. George A. Neville, 20 (1983), no. 2, pp. 114-118; " Return of the Officers of the Corps of Rangers Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, n.d. ", The Correspondence and Unpublished Papers of Frederick Haldimand, Brit. Mus., Microfilm, MS. 21827, RL. 85; Mary Beacock Fryer and William A. Smy, Rolls of the Provincial (Loyalist) Corps, Canadian Command American Revolution (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1981), pp. 53-79; W.D. Reive Data on United Empire Loyalists-Geneology and Lists of Cemetaries and Graves in the Niagara District, P.A.O., Microfilm, MS 198, B-31, RL. 462.

54. Idem

55. See Fryer and Smy, Rolls of the Provincial (Loyalist) Corps, Canadian Command American Revolution; E. Rae Stuart, " Jessup's Rangers as a factor in loyalist settlement, " in Three Historical Thesis, Ontario Department of Records and Archieves, 1961, pp. 12-15, 29-30. Although the Jessup's were primarily merchants they also possessed large tracts of land in Albany county and on the upper Hudson.

56. Sources on the backgrounds may be found in the Loyalist Claims 1764-1790, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, as well as in the Haldimand Papers and family histories previously cited.

57. Report of Governor Tryon on the Province of New York, June 11, 1774 ", New York Colonial Documents, 8:441.

58. See " Map of the Head Waters of the Susquehanna ", Halsey; " Map of the Province of New York and New Jersey and that part of Pennsylvania and the Province of Quebec from the Observations of C.J.S. Authier, 1777 ", Thomas Jones, History of New York during the American Revolutionary War (New York, Arno Press, 1968), 748.

59. See " Petitions for Grants of Land 1792-1796 ", compiled by E.A. Cruikshank, Ontario Historical Papers and Records, 24 (Toronto, 1927), pp. 17-144; " Petitions for Grants of Land 1796-1799 ", compiled by E.A. Cruikshank, Ontario Historical Papers and Records, 26 (Toronto, 1930), pp. 97-379; Loyalist Claims 1787-1788. Montreal, Second Reportof the Ontario Bureau of Archives; " Return of Officers of the Corps of Rangers Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, n.d. ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21827, RL. 85; Crysler, History of the Crysler Family; Belanger, " Field Family ", Families, 114; Fryer and Smy, Loyalist Rolls, pp.53-79. Names of the men included John Butler, Bernard Frey, Peter Ten Broeck, Arent Bradt, Lewis Clement, Adam Crysler, Isaac Vrooman, and Jacob Ball.

60. Patricia U. Bonomi, A Factious People (New York, Columbia University, 1971), 188; Turner, 81; Adams, 111.

61. See Bonomi, A Factious People; Adams, Provincial Society 1690-1763; Higgins, Expansion in New York.

62. Adams, 12.

63. Bonomi, pp. 188-191; Adams, 12; Milton Klein, Politics of Diversity (Port Washington, Kennikat Press, 1974), 18.

64. Bonomi, 190; Adams, 20.

65. Bonomi, pp. 195-200.

66. Ibid., 200.

67. Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841 (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1963), 9.

68. Crysler, A History of the Crysler Family; Belanger, " Field Family ", Families.

69. See " Map of the Head Waters of the Susquehanna ", Halsey; " Map of the Province of New York and New Jersey and that part of Pennsylvania and the Province of Quebec from the Observations of C.J.S. Authier ", Jones.

70. Jacob Ball, Claim Number 812, 20:960. James Hayslip, Claim Number 818, 20:965, Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives.

71. Henry Heanor, Claim Number 825, 20:971, Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives.

72. George House, Claim Number 844, 20:983, Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives.

73. Wayland F. Dunaway, A History of Pennsylvania (New York, Prentice Hall Inc., 1935), pp. 131-133.

74. Dunaway, pp. 131, 133.

75. Ibid., 136.

76. Thomas C. Cochran, Pennsylvania (New York, W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1978), 13.

77. William Picard, Claim Number 815, 20:963; Frederick Smith, Claim Number 828, 20:972, Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives.

78. Solomon J. Buck and Elizabeth Hawthorne Buck, The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburg, University of Pittsburg, 1939), 136.

79. JohnWintermute, Claim Number 831, 20:974. Received half a proprietor's right; Philip Buck, Claim Number 832, 20:974. Frederick Auger, Claim Number 829, 20:973. Richard Philips, Claim Number 816, 20:964. Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives. These last three men received an entire proprietor's right apiece.

80. Cochran, 13; Buck, 113.

81. John Butler, Loyalist Claims-Evidence 1785, New York, P.A.O., Microfilm, MS 708, 12:21, RL. .083: New York claims: Jacob Ball, Claim Number 812, 20:960. George House, Claim Number 844, 20:983. Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives; op. cit. Pennsylvania Claims: William Picard, Claim Number 815 20:963. Rebecca Field on behalf of her husband George, Claim Number 839, 20:979. John Depu, Claim Number 897, 20:989. Solomon Secord, Claim Number 852, 20:989. Frederick Smith, Claim Number 828, 20:972, Loyalist Claims, 1787, Montreal.

82. See Klein, Politics of Diversity; Adams, Provincial Society 1690-1763; Dunaway, A History of Pennsylvania; Buck, The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania; Cochran, Pennsylvania.

83. Bonomi, 146. Susannah Warren, wife of Peter was the sister of James Delancy.

84. Bonomi, pp. 149-158.

85. Ibid., pp. 155-156.

86. Bonomi, pp. 160-161.

87. Ibid., 165.

88. Bonomi, 172 and n. 50.

89. Bonomi, 178; Higgins, 80; William Johnson Papers, I:pp. 465-466.

90. See lists of Magistrates and Justices of the Peace, Johnson Papers.

91. See The Mohawk Valley in Revolution, Committee of Safety Papers and Genealogical Compendium, ed. Maryl B. Penrose (Franklin Park, Liberty Bell Association, 1978); Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence 1775-1778, ed. James Sullivan (Albany, University of New York, 1923), Volume I.

92. Background information is available from various sources previously cited which include Loyalist Claims, Haldimand Papers, Fryer and Smy, Rolls of the Provincial Corps, pp.53-79. Joan Magee's book Loyalist Mosaic (Toronto, Dunburn Press, 1984) is also helpful.

93. Fryer and Smy, Rolls of the Provincial (Loyalist) Corps, Canadian Command American Revolution.

94. Fryer, 68; Bonomi, pp. 248-257.

95. G.A. Rawlyk, " The Reverend John Stuart, Mohawk Missionary and Reluctant Loyalist ", in Red,White and True Blue, ed. Esmond Wright (New York, AMS Press, 1976), pp. 58-59.

96. Bonomi, pp. 49-53.

97. Reamore, 172: " Agreement between the Huguenot Church of New Rochelle and the Episcopal Church, 1709 ", Documentary History of New York, ed. E.B. O' Callaghan (Albany, Weed Parsons & Co., 1850), 3:21; " A Licence to erect an Episcopal Church in New Rochelle, August 2, 1710 ", Documentary History of New York, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, Weed Parson & Co., 1850), 3:569.

98. Jacob Ball, Claim Number 417, Loyalist Claims-Evidence 1787, New York, P.A.O., Microfilm, MS 708, 12,27, RL. .083; op. cit. Adam Crysler, Claim Number 423; Joseph Clement, Claim Number 28[?], Loyalist Claims-Evidence 1787, New York, 12,28; op. cit. Daniel Servos, Claim Number 5; Benjamin Fralick, Claim Number 38; McGregor VanEvery, Claim Number 218, Loyalist Claims-Evidence 1788, New York, 12,32; William Picard, Claim Numbers 318 & 319, Loyalist Claims-Evidence 1785-1787, Pennsylvania, 12,40; op. cit. Isaac Dolson, Claim Number [?].

99. William Nelson, The American Tory (Oxford, Oxford University, 1961), pp. 79,90.

100. Wallace Brown, The King's Friends (Providence, Brown University Press, 1965), 78; Hazel C. Mathews, The Mark of Honour (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1965), 49.

101. Mathews, pp. 42-45.

102. Ibid., 45.

103. Fryer, 157.

104. Ibid., pp. 130, 157.

105. Mathews, 50.

106. Ibid., 48.

107. See Fryer, King's Men.

108. Mathews, 33.

109. See Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers. pp. 54-58.

Chapter Two

110. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 108; Fryer, 129.

111. Fryer, pp. 149-153; Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, pp. 69-70.

112. " Frederick Haldimand to Lord Germain, June 7, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS 2171, RL. 20.

113. " Colonel Mason Bolton to Frederick Haldimand, Return of Indians at Niagara, December 30, 1778 to January 26, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 2171, RL.42.

114. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 11.

115. " Frederick Haldimand to Secretary Robinson, June 7, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 2171, RL. 20.

116. " Walter Butler to Frederick Haldimand, May 28, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

117. " Walter Butler to Robert Mathews, February 7, 1780 " Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46; " Walter Butler to Frederick Haldimand, May 28, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46; " Robert Mathews to John Butler, June 15, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

118. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, May 3, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

119. " Robert Mathews to John Butler, June 15, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

120. " Frederick Haldimand to Lord Germain, September 25, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 2171, RL. 20.

121. " Frederick Haldimand to Colonel Mason Bolton, October 7, 1778 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21764, RL. 45; Colonel Mason Bolton to Frederick Haldimand, March 4, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21760, RL. 42.

122. " Frederick Haldimand to Colonel Mason Bolton, July 13, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21764, RL. 45.

123. Examples may be found in Loyalist Claims, 1785, New York, P.A.O., and Loyalist Claims 1787-1788, Montreal, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, and the various family histories previously sited.

124. " Frederick Haldimand to Colonel Mason Bolton, July 13, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21764, RL. 45.

125. " Colonel Mason Bolton to Frederick Haldimand, October 7, 1778 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21764, RL. 45.

126. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, June 12, 1782 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46; " John Butler to Robert Mathews, October 4, 1781 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL.46.

127. " Brigadier General Allan Maclean to Frederick Haldimand, March 29, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21763, RL. 44.

128. " John Butler to Frederick Haldimand, August 25, 1782 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

129. Records of Niagara 1778-1784, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, 1927),38:34.

130. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, June 12, 1782 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

131. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 110.

132. " Brigadier General Allan Maclean to Frederick Haldimand, March 29, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21763, RL. 44.

133. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, March 31, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

134. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, April 4, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

135. " Brigadier General Allan Maclean to Frederick Haldimand, May 3, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21763, RL. 44.

136. " Royal Instructions Regarding Settlement, July 16, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21704, RL. 17.

137. " Lord North to Frederick Haldimand, August 8, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21704, RL. 17.

138. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 111.

Chapter Three

139. " Lord North to Frederick Haldimand, August 8, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21705, RL. 17.

140. " Lord North to Frederick Haldimand, August 7, 1783 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21705, RL. 17.

141. " Lord Sydney to Frederick Haldimand, April 8, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21705, RL. 17; Fryer, 311.

142. " Frederick Haldimand to Colonel Mason Bolton, July 7, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21764, RL. 45.

143. See " Reports of the Inspectors of Loyalists 1782-1788 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21825, RL. 84.

144. Stuart, pp. 82-85.

145. " Return of the Rise and Progress of a Settlement of Loyalists on the West Side of the River Niagara, April 18, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

146. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, May 8, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

147. " Map of the Township of Niagara by August Jones, Surveyor General, 1791 ", P.A.O., R.G.I, C-1-10, C-17. (Appendix II)

148. " Lieutenant Colonel Arent Schulyer De Peyster to Frederick Haldimand, June 28, 1784 ", Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 113.

149. " A List of Persons who have Subscribed their names in Order to Settle and Cultivate the Crown Lands Opposite to Niagara, July 20, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21827, RL. 85.

150. Joan Magee, Loyalist Mosaic (Toronto, Dunburn Press, 1784), 61; The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John G. Simcoe 1793-1794, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1924), 2: 227. Those included: William Caldwell, Isaac Dolson, Daniel McKillop, Daniel Field.117. " Philip Frey to John Collins, September 18, 1787 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:22.

151. Stuart, pp. 60-74, 92.

152. " Philip Frey to John Collins, September 18, 1787 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:22.

153. " Philip Frey to John Collins, October 18, 1788 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:53.

154. Cruikshank, Butler's Rangers, 111.

155. " The Petition of John Johnson Baronett and Others in Behalf of the Loyalists Settled in Canada, April 11, 1785 ", Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791, eds. Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, 2nd ed. (Ottawa, J. de L. Tache, 1918), pp. 773-777; op. cit." Report of the Committee of the Council Upon Population, Agriculure and Settlement of the Crown Lands, February 13, 1787 ", pp. 871-941.

156. " John Butler to Lord Dorchester, October 22, 1788 ", Quebec Land Book, R.G. L 1, Vol. A, RL. C-94, 44; " Lord Dorchester to Lord Sydney, November 6, 1788 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:57.

157. Jacob Ball, Claim Number 417, Loyalist Claims-Evidence, 1787, New York, P.A.O., MS. 708, RL. .083, 12:27; W.G. Reive, Data on the United Empire Loyalists, Lists of Cemetaries and Graves in the Niagara District, Reive Collection, P.A.O., MS. 198, B-31, RL. 462, 1:31.

158. " Report of Lord Dorchester and Council, December 29, 1788 ", Quebec Land Book, RR. L 1, Vol. A, RL. C-94, pp. 61-62; " Lord Dorchester to Lord Sydney, November 6, 1788 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 57.

159. Records of attendance for meetings of the Nassau Land Board estimated for the period between 1789 and 1793: John Butler 33, Robert Hamilton 35, Peter Ten Broeck 19, Commanding Officer of the Niagara Garrison 16. See Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank; Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, 1930), Volume 41; " Copy of the Land Board Held at Niagara June 24, 1791-the Second Monday of July ", Niagara Historical Society Collection, P.A.O. MS. 193, F-1-10, RL. 12, Volume 4.

160. " Sir John Johnson to Lord Dorchester, September 13, 1790 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. Cruikshank, 41:77.

161. " Report of the Nassau Land Board, October 29, 1789 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. Cruikshank, 41:97.

162. Lillian Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 20-21.

163. Gates, 16.

164. " Philip Frey to John Collins, May 2, 1789 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:84.

165. " Philip Frey to John Collins, July, 1789 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:89.

166. " Report of the Nassau Land Board, October 29, 1789 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:98.

167. Land Petition of James Secord Jr. and David Secord, August 3, 1795, " Petitions 1792-1796 ", O.H.S., 24: 119; Land Petition of Elijah Phelps, June 11, 1798, " Petitions 1796-1799 ", O.H.S., 26:271; op. cit. John Rowe, March 27, 1797 ", 295; op. cit. John Young, October 15, 1794, 372.

168. See Schedules and Land Roles, Nassau District, Number 3, 1788, Vol. 6, P.A.O., R.G. 1, MS. 400, Series A-IV, RL. 7; Index of Grants of Land, Town, Park, and Water Lots in Upper Canada from 1790-1791 to December 31, 1825, prepared by Order in Council, March 9, 1857, Vol. 1, Home District, R.G. 8, MS. 1, RL. 6, pp. 1-122.

169. " Presentation from the Surveyor General to Council ", Upper Canada Gazette, May 24, 1794, Ontario Legislative Library, RL. 1.

170. " Map of the Township of Niagara by Augustus Jones, 1791 ", P.A.O., R.G. 1, C-1-10, C-17; " Map of the Township of Stamford by Augustus Jones, 1791 ", N.H.R.C., RL. .019; " Map of the Township of Louth by Augustus Jones, 1791 ", P.A.O. R.G.1,, C-1-10, C-14; " Map of the Township of Grantham by Augustus Jones, 1791 ", P.A.O., R.G. 1, C-1-10, C-101. Official Maps of the first four Townships show no allowances made for reserves although some acreage in the later three were set aside as ' glebes '. (Appendix II)

171. Idem See also Index of Land Patents, Home District.

172. Based on entries derived from the Index of Land Patents, Home District.

173. See " Petitions 1792-1796 ", O.H.S., 24: 17.

174. " Petition of Isaac Swayzy, John Secord Sr., John Secord Jr., and David Secord, May 2, 1793 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank 41:30.

175. Petiton of Jacob Ball and Others, October 6, 1793, " Petitions 1792-1796 ", O.H.S., 24: pp. 124-124; Petiton of Peter Secord,July 15, 1794, " Petitions 1792-1796 ", O.H.S., 24: pp. 119-120; Petition of William Pickard, October 10, 1796, " Petitions 1796-1799 ", O.H.S., 26: pp. 271-272.

176. Between 1793 and 1798 nine petitions from various members of the Secord family are recorded. See " Petitions 1792-1796 ", O.H.S., 24: pp. 119-120, and " Petitions 1796-1799 ", O.H.S., 26: pp. 306-311.

Chapter Four

177. " Frederick Haldimand to Colonel Mason Bolton, July 13, 1780 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21764, RL. 45.

178. " Colonel Mason Bolton to Frederick Haldimand, A Return of Indians at Niagara, December 30, 1778 to January 26, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21760, RL. 42. Only 28 Missisauga Indians are listed as being present in the Niagara area, and those were receiving rations at the Fort.

179. " Return of Work Done in the Engineer's Department at Niagara, December 25, 1779 to June 24, 1779 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21760, RL. 46.

180. " Return of the Rise and Progress of a Settlement of Loyalists on the West side of the River Niagara, April 18, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

181. " A List of the Persons who have Subscribed their names in order to Settle and Cultivate the Crown Lands opposite to Niagara, July 20, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21827, RL. 85.

182. " Loyalist Victualing Lists of the Niagara Area 1786 ", comp. Robert Halfyard, Families, ed. James R. Kennedy, 24 (May, 1985), pp. 89-93; " More Victualing Lists of the Niagara Area 1785-1786 ", comp. Robert Halfyard, Families, ed. James R. Kennedy, 24 (November, 1985), pp. 216-233.

183. " Distribution of Clothing to the Refugee Loyalists as Approved by General Haldimand, Sorel, May 22, 1784 ", Preston, pp. 67-68.

184. " Petition of the Associated Loyalists to His Excellency Lieutenant General Haldimand, Governor and Commander In Chief &c., &c., Sorel, January, 1784 ", Preston, pp. 55-57.

185. " Journal of Robert Mathews, May, 1787 ", Fryer, 333.

186. Examples may be found in Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada, ed. James J. Talman (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1946), Vol. 46; Loyalist Claims 1787-1788, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives; Haldimand Papers.

187. Howard Temperley, " Frontier, Capital, and the Loyalists in Canada ", Journal of American Studies, ed. Howard Temperley, 13 (April, 1979), 14.

188. Fryer, 333.

189. Servos Mill Records 1785-1826, Volumes, 1-5, N.H.R.C., Microfilm, RL. .196. Examples are found in the accounts of Andrew Butler, Bernard Frey, Adam Crysler, Peter Ten Broeck, and the joint account of Young and Vrooman.

190. Servos Mill Records, Examples are found in the accounts of Bernard Frey, John Hoover, Peter Ten Broeck, and Adam Crysler.

191. Mathews, 127.

192. Edwin C. Guillet, Pioneer Days in Upper Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1933), 56. See also " Memories of Colonel John Clark of Port Dalhousie ", O.H.S., 7 (Toronto, 1906), pp. 158-169; " Extract from the Narrative of Jacob Lindley, 1788 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:92; " Extract from the Diary of David Zeisberger, August 25, & September 11, 1789 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:92.

193. See " Memories of Colonel John Clark of Port Dalhousie ", O.H.S., 7: 169; " Letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Bowman Spohn, July 23, 1864 ", Talman, 320; " Extract from the letter from John Richardson to John Porteous, June 14, 1789 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:91.

194. Crysler, History of the Crysler Family, 25. Adam Crysler sold 150 bushels of wheat to Hamilton & Comapny January 1, 1788; Servos Mill Records reflect purchases of grain made in 1789 by Thomas Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, and Joseph Clement.

195. Crysler, History of the Crysler Family, pp. 25-28.

196. " Extract from a Letter from John Richardson to John Porteous, June 14, 1789 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A.Cruikshank, 40:91.

197. " The Petiton of the Inhabitants of the County of Lincoln to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, July 20, 1794, The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John G. Simcoe 1795-1796, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1926), 4:359.

198. " John Butler and Robert Hamilton to John Graves Simcoe, February 27, 1792 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 41: 136.

199. Extracts from Peter Campbell, " Travels in the Interior Inhabited Part of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792 ", Notes on the History of the District of Niagara 1791-1793, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, n.d.), 26:7.

200. " Memorial of the Merchants of Kingston in Behalf of Themselves and Others, to His Excellency, John Graves Simcoe, July 22, 1792 ", Preston, 190.

201. E, Ascher, " List of the Members of the Agricultural Society at Niagara 1792-1805 ", Names Only but Much More, (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, n.d.), 27: 17.

202. Upper Canada Gazette, May 9, 1793.

203. " Extract of the Minutes of the Executive Council, n.d. ", Simcoe Correspondence 1795-1796, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 4: pp. 351-352. The petition is dated from October 21, 1792.

204. Elizabeth Simcoe, The Diary of Mrs. J. Graves Simcoe, ed. J. Ross Robertson (Toronto, William Briggs, 1911), 294. The entry is dated September 25, 1795.

205. Robert Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada Complied with a View to a Grand System of Emigration (London, Simpkin & Marshall, 1820), 1: pp. 419, 426. Reports for the townships are dated as follows: Louth January 5, 1818; Stamford November 17, 1817. Both show orchards as being common.

206. Upper Canada Gazette, August 19, 1795; Upper Canada Gazette, September 7, 1796.

207. Upper Canada Gazette, November 9, 1796.

Chapter Five

208. See Bruce G. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton (Ottawa, Carleton University, 1983).

209. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 14.

210. Wilson, Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, pp. 15-16.

211. Ibid., 17.

212. " John Butler to Lord Dorchester, March 3, 1790 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 41: pp. 15-16; op. cit. " John Butler to Sir John Johnson, August 30, 1790 ", pp. 69-73.

213. " Lord Dorchester to Lord Grenville, March 15, 1790 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1789-1793, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1923), 1: pp. 10-11; " Evan Nepean to John Graves Simcoe, September 14, 1791 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1795-1796, ed. E.A Cruikshank, 4:348.

214. Fryer, 133; Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 14; " John Graves Simcoe to the Duke of Portland, February 17, 1795 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1794-1795, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1925), 3: pp. 301-303.

215. " John Graves Simcoe to the Duke of Portland, February 17, 1795 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1793-1794, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Toronto, Ontario HIstorical Society, 1924), 2: pp. 301-302; op. cit. " John Graves Simcoe to the Duke of Portland, January 30, 1795, pp.278-279; " John Graves Simcoe to Henry Dundas, September 20, 1793 ", Simcoe Correspondence, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 2: pp. 60-62.

216. " John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, June 2, 1794 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1793-1794, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 2:257.

217. " John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, January 30, 1795 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1794-1795, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 3: 279.

218. " John Butler to Sir John Johnson, August 30, 1790 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A.Cruikshank, 41:71.

219. Ibid., 72.

220. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 37.

221. " John Butler to Robert Mathews, May, 8, 1784 ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21765, RL. 46.

222. " From the Firm of Street and Butler to John Butler, March 2, 1790 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 41: pp. 14-15.

223. " Agreement to Cancel the Partnership of Butler and Street, January 4, 1797 ", Samuel Street Papers 1791-1834, Microfilm, N.H.R.C., RL. .308.

224. John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, January 30, 1795 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1794-1795, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 3: pp. 278-279; op. cit. Lord Dorchester to John Graves Simcoe, January, 1795 ", pp. 260-261; op. cit. Lord Dorchester to John Graves Simcoe, March 8, 1795 ", 318.

225. " Commission of Sheriff of Nassau District to Walter Butler Sheehan, August 16, 1791 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 41: 125.

226. R. Janet Powell, Annals of the Forty-Municiple Government 1790-1840 (n.p., Grimsby Historical Society, 1951), 2:9; " Minutes of the Land Board of Nassau, March 31, 1790 ", Records 1790-1792, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 41:22.

227. " Report of John Collins and W. Drummer Powell to Lord Dorchester on Loyalist Grievances, August 18, 1787 ", Preston, pp. 122-124.

228. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 33.

229. " The Memorial Of the Merchants of Kingston in Behalf of Themselves and others, to His Excellency, John Graves Simcoe, July 22, 1792 ", Preston, 190.

230. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, pp. 14-16.

231. Examples are found in the relationship between William Johnson and George Croghan.

232. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 17.

233. References to John Butler's declining health see Cruikshank's Records 1790-1792, and Simcoe Correspondence 1789-1796 in four volumes.

234. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 18.

235. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

236. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

237. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 40.

238. See Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton.

239. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

240. " Lord Dorchester to the Executive Council, December 29, 1788 ", Records 1784-1789, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 40:62.

241. Wislon, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 44.

242. See Mary Beacock Fryer and William Smy, Rolls of the Provincial Corps (Loyalist) Canadian Command . American Revolutionary Period (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1981), pp. 53-79; Fryer, 130.

243. " Report of John Collins and W. Drummer Powell to Lord Dorchester on Loyalist Grievances, August 18, 1787 ", Preston, pp. 122-124.

244. Stuart, 92.

245. Ibid., 100.

246. " Survey of Mills in the District of Nassau, November 7, 1792 by D.W. Smith ", Notes on the History of the District of Niagara 1791-1793, ed. E.A. Cruikshank (Niagara-on-the-LAke, Niagara Historical Society, n.d.), 26:49-51.

247. Bruce G.Wilson, As She Began (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1981), 73.

248. " Lists of the Justices of the Peace recommmended by William Johnson, December 22, 1769 ", Johnson Papers, ed. James Sullivan, 12: pp.768-769; op. cit., " Lists of Justices of the Peace for Albany County, February, 1770 ", 765; op. cit., " Lists of Justices and Magistrates, March 10, 1770 ", pp. 783-784.

249. " Petition of the Principle Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Mohock River and Settlements adjacent in the County of Albany, November, 1771 ", Johnson Papers, ed. James Sullivan, 8: pp. 332-335; " Return of the Officers of the Corps of Rangers Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Butler, n.d. ", Haldimand Papers, MS. 21827, RL. 85.

250. See Emma Currie, The Story of Laura Secord (St. Catherines, n.p., 1913); Loyalist Claims 1787-1788, Second Report of the Ontario Bureau of Archives ; " Petitions 1792-1796 ", O.H.S., 24: pp. 17-144; Servos Mill Records 1785-1826; John Crysler, History of that Branch of the Crysler Family Who Settled in the Township of Niagara, (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Advance, 1936).

251. See " Petitions 1792-1796 ", comp. E.A. Cruikshank, O.H.S. 24: pp. 17-144; " Petitions 1796-1799 ", comp. E.A. Cruikshank, O.H.S., 26: pp. 97-379.

252. " John Graves Simcoe to Henry Dundas, September 16, 1793 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1793-1794, 2: pp 53-55; See also Isaac Weld, Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London, J. Stockdale, 1799), 1:367.

253. " Record of the Leasing of Pews, March 2, 1796 ", St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Registers and Records 1794-1967, N.H.R.C., Microfilm, RL. .277.

254. Extracts from Peter Campbell, " Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792 ", Notes on Niagara District 1791-1793, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 26:21.

255. See Minutes of the Niagara (Newark) Town Council Book 1793-1800, P.A.O., Microfilm, Niagara Historical Society Collection, MS. 193, A-1, Volume 2; " List of the Militia for Lincoln County ", Upper Canada Gazette, July 10, 1794; " Return of a Detachment of Militia from the Home District, October 20, 1794 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1794-1795, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 3:136.

256. Extracts from Peter Campbell " Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792 ", Notes on Niagara District 1791-1793, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 26: pp. 6-27.

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259. Kirby, 88; " Memories of Colonel John Clark of Dalhousie ", O.H.S., 8 (Toronto, 1906), 88; " Congratulations Address of the Inhabitants of Niagara to John Graves Simcoe, February, 1792 ", Notes on Niagara District , ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 26: pp. 27-28.

260. Upper Canada Gazette, August 21, 1794.

261 " Letter from Bernard Frey to John Frey, November 5, 1794 ", Penrose, 252.

262. J. G. Simcoe, " A Replica of Britain in the American Wilds ", The United Empire Loyalists, Men and Myths, ed. L.F.S. Upton (Toronto, Copp Clark, 1967), pp. 46-49; op. cit. William Knox, " The Need for Church Establishment ", pp. 50-55; " Memorandum from J.G. Simcoe to the Honourable Henry Dundas, June 30, 1791, Simcoe Correspondence 1789-1793, 1:31; " Richard Cartwright to Isaac Todd, October 14, 1793 ", Simcoe Correspondence 1793-1794, 2:88.

263. See John Stuart, July 17, 1784, " Exracts from the Reports and Journals of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ", O.H.S., 19 (Toronto, 1922), 172; op. cit. " John Stuart, June 2, 1788 ", pp. 172-173; " John Stuart to Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia, July 6, 1788 ", Preston, 137.

264. See " St. Mark's Church Registers and Records 1792-1979 ", N.H.R.C., Microfilm, RL. .279.

265. " Robert Addison to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, June 27, 1796 ", O.H.S., 19: 176.

266. " Record of the Leasing of Pews, March 2, 1796 ", St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Registers and Records 1794-1967 ", N.H.R.C., RL. .277.

267. " Robert Addison to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, October 1, 1803 ", ed. A. H. Young, O.H.S., 19: 179; A History of St. Andrew's 1791-1975, pamphlet complied by the Presbyterian Church of Canada, n.d., n.p., 30.

268. A comparison of the registers of both St. Mark's and St. Andrew's show much duplication of membership prior to 1812.

269. Reaman, 175.

270. Such sentiment regarding religion is frequently displayed throughout the Simcoe Correspondence 1789-1796, in four volumes edited by E.A. Cruikshank. Simcoe's clearest expression is found in the article " A Replica of Britain in the American Wilds ", Upton, pp. 46-49.

271. Janet Carnochan, Niagara Library 1800-1820 and Early Schools of Niagara (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Historical Society, 1900), 6:32.

272. " Petition of the Western Loyalists to Lord Dorchester, April 15, 1787 ", Shortt, pp. 949-951.

273. " John Graves Simcoe to Henry Dundas, April 28, 1792 ", Notes on the Niagara District 1791-1793, ed. E.A. Cruikshank, 26:29.

274. Crysler, A Short History on the Township of Niagara (Niagara, Niagara Advance, 1943), 12.

275. Carnochan, 33.

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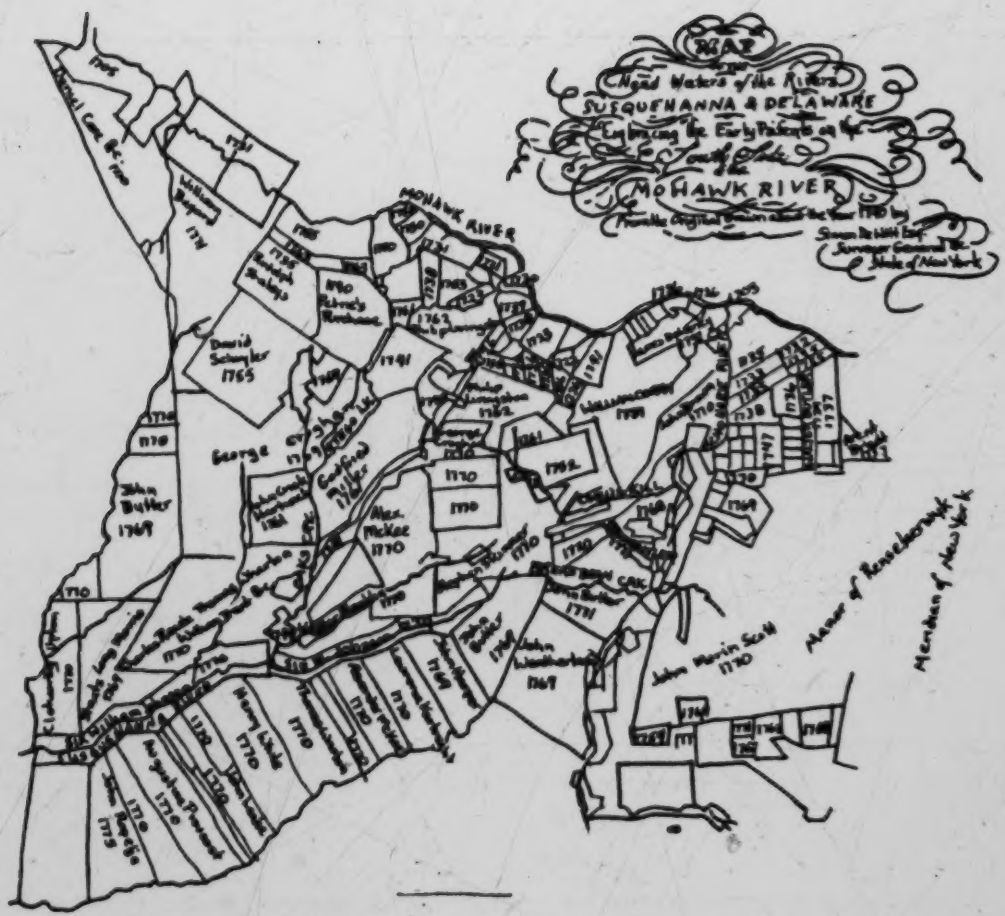
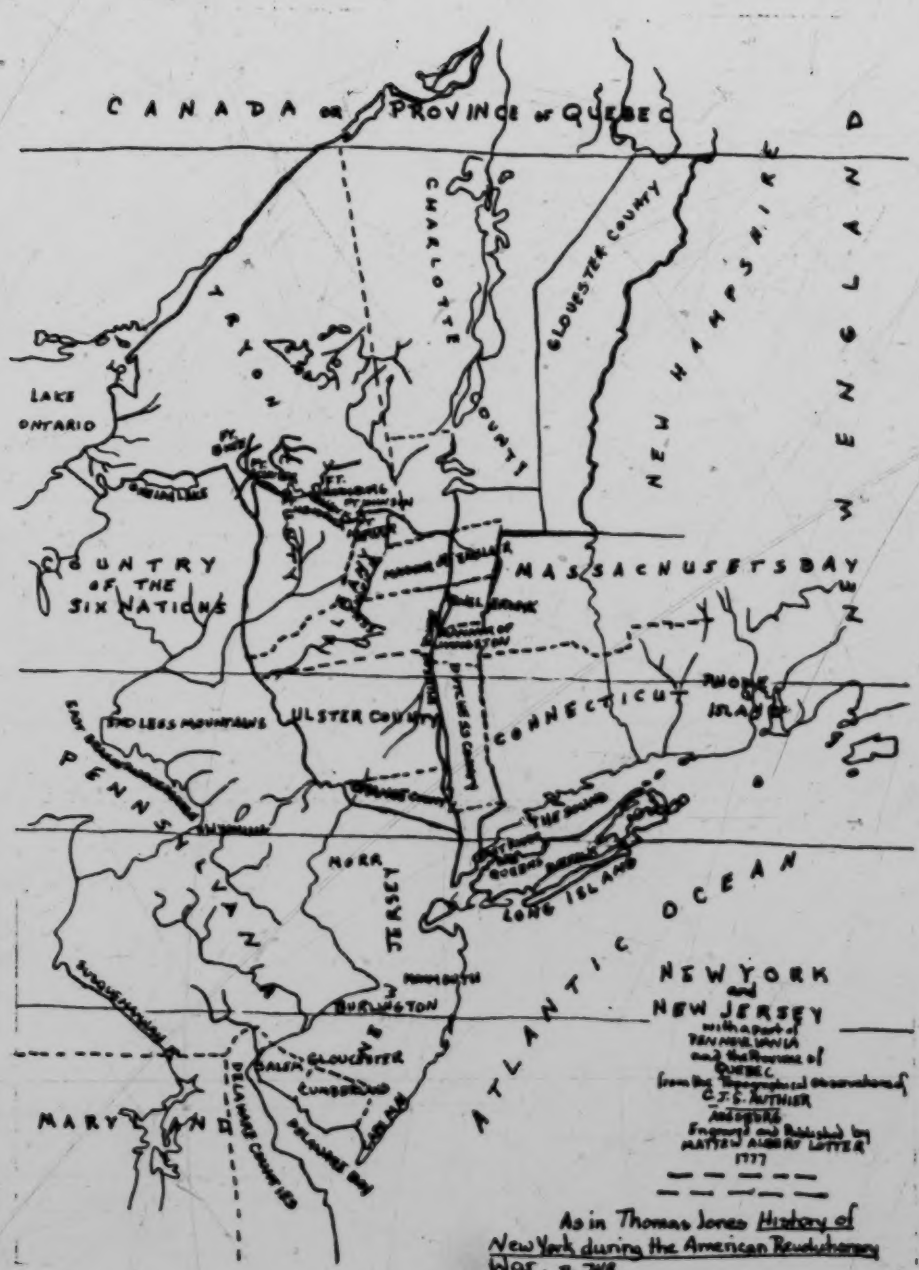
Appendix J

[BUTLER HOLDINGS SHADED]

As in Ruth L. Higgins
Expansion in New York
Inside Front cover.

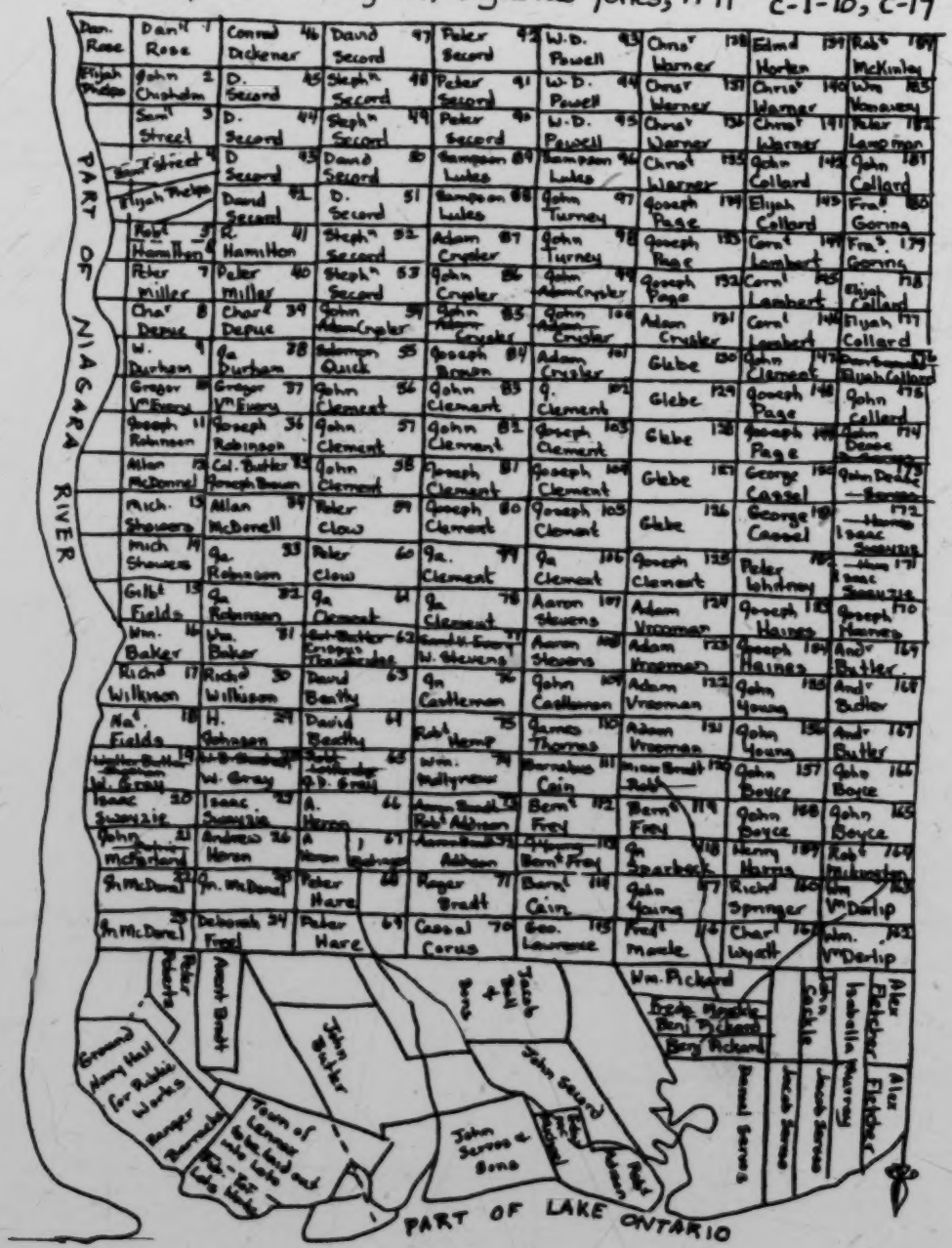


As in Francis W. Halsey
The Old New York Frontier
Back cover fold out.



As in Thomas Jones History of New York during the American Revolutionary War. p. 748.

Township no. 1 Niagara, Augustus Jones, 1791 P.A.O. RG 1 C-1-10, C-17



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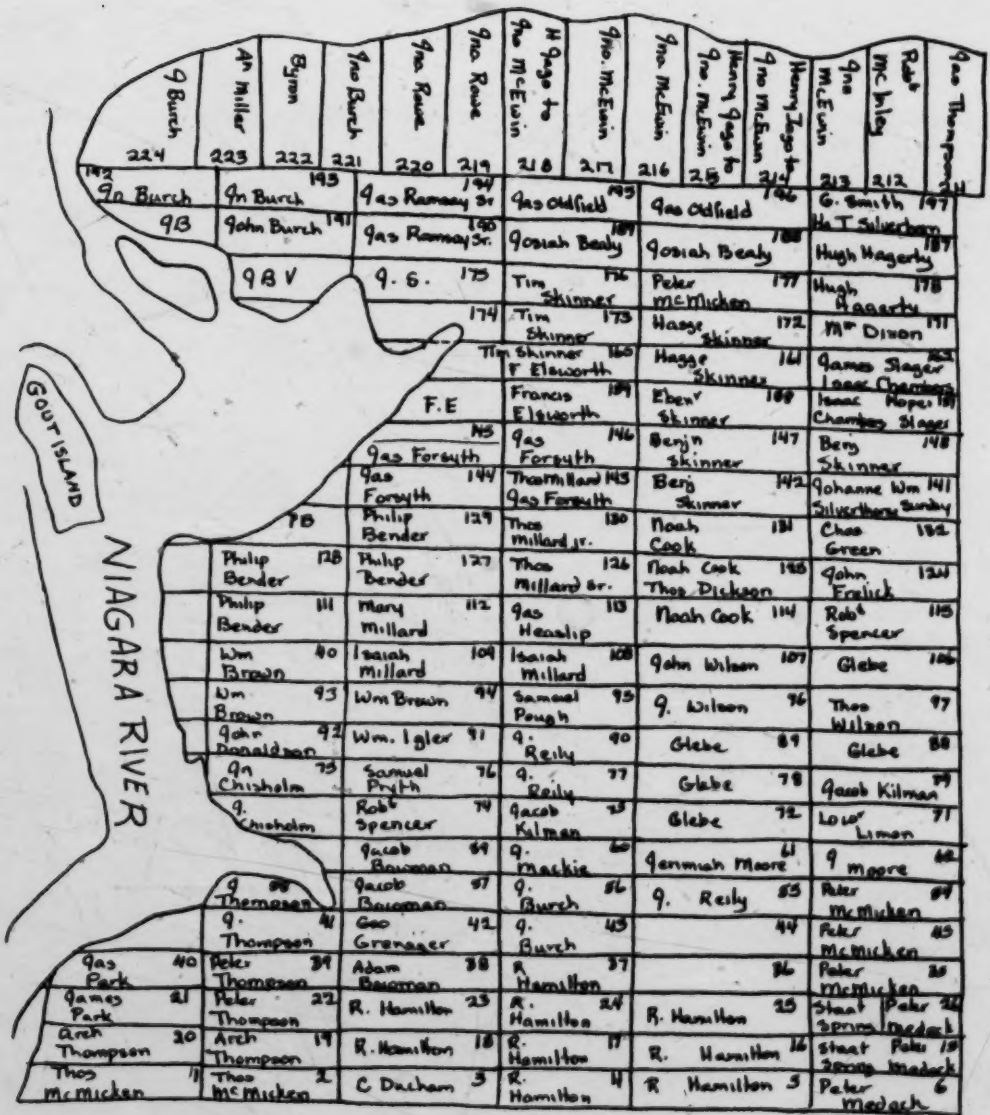
NHR.C. RL. 019



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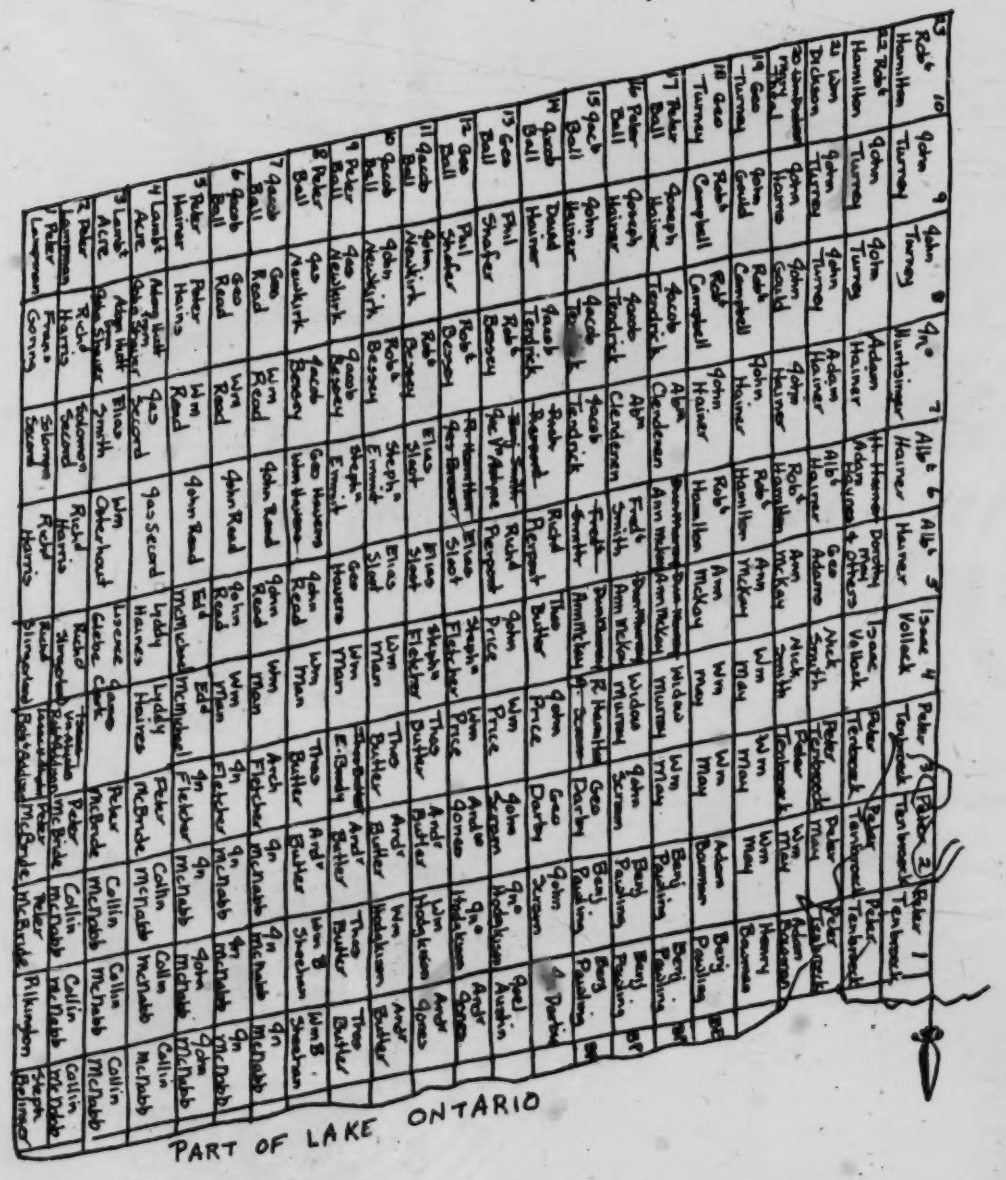

Township no. 4 Louth, Augustus Jones, 1791
P.A.O. RG1, C-1-10, C-14

23 Col. 9 Butler B	Col John Butler	Col 6 Butler	Col 5 Butler	Col Butler 4 Stringerland	Col 9 3 Butler	Col. 9 2 Butler	Col 1 Butler	Col Butler
22 Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler
21 Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler
20 Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler
19 Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler			
18 ~~Phil Frey~~ Ja Mclaughlin	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Col Butler	Widow Hare		
17 ~~Phil Frey~~ Ja Mclaughlin	Col Butler	Michael Crantz	Wm Hare	Thos Butler Wm Hare	T. Butler Wm Hare	Widow Hare	~~Widow Hare~~ Fairchild	
16 George Ransier	Jesse Pawling	Michael Crantz	Wm Hare	Wm Hare	T. Butler	Simon Anderson	Simon Anderson	
15 Geo. Ransier	Jesse Pawling	Jesse Pawling	Widow Hare	Wm Hare	Christ Price	Christ Price	Christ Price	
14 Henry Beemer	Phil Beemer	P. Forting	Israel Burch	Thos Burch	~~Wm Hare~~	W Scram	Math Scram	
13 Christ Beemer	Christ Beemer	~~P. Frey~~	Israel Burch	Thos Burch	~~Wm Hare~~	~~Wm Hare~~	Ed Bebie	
12 Geo Patterson	Phil Beemer	D Glebe Bradt	Glebe	Glebe	Wm Cole	~~Ed Bebie~~	Ed Bebie	
11 Geo Patterson	Phil Beemer	Ralph Sager	~~Glebe~~ Stephenson	Glebe	Jacob Walter	Jacob Walter	~~Walter~~ R. Addison	
10 ~~Phil Frey~~	Ebenr Colver	Ralph Sager	J. Sager S. Vollick	Ja Miracle S. Vollick	S. Vollick	Benony Crumb	~~Benony Crumb~~	
9 ~~Phil Frey~~	Ebenr Colver	Ebenr Colver	~~Robt Smith~~ Rich Phillips	John Miracle	Phil McGregor	Benony Crumb Jos Cayley	Benony Crumb	
8 ~~Benj Fredick~~	~~Ebenr Colver~~	~~P Fortier~~	Richard Phillips ~~R. Smith~~	Ja Miracle	Phil McGregor	Fredk Berum	Fredk Berum	F.B
7 ~~Benj Fredick~~	~~Forbes~~	~~P. Fortier~~	Rich Phillips ~~R. Smith~~	Ja Miracle	Phil McGregor	Fredk Scram	Fredk Scram	F.B
6 John ~~Benj~~ Fredick	Benj Fredick	~~P. Fortier~~	~~R. Smith~~ R. Phillips	———	Phil McGregor	Jesse Pawling	Jesse Pawling	Jesse Pawling
5 Peter Wiscoss	Henry Smith	~~P. Fortier~~	Joseph Smith	~~Phil Hainer~~	Henr Hainer	Jesse Pawling	Jesse Pawling	Jesse Pawling
4 Peter Wiscoss	Henry Smith	~~J Bradt~~	Ja Smith	~~Henry Beamer~~	W. Clendenon	Jesse Pawling	Jesse Pawling	Solomon Secord
3 John Brown	Henry Smith	~~J Bradt~~	Ja Smith	~~Henr Beamer~~	Peter Tenbrook	Peter Tenbrook	Peter Tenbrook	Solomon Secord
2 John Turney	~~J~~ Johnson	Phil Smith	Phil Smith	Richd Hainer	Jonas Lamoreux	Peter Tenbrook	Peter Tenbrook	Sol. Secord
1 John Turney	~~Phil Frey~~	Phil Frey	Ja Hunterger	Richd Hainer	Isaac Vollick	Peter Tenbrook	Peter Tenbrook	Peter Tenbrook